THE AZANDE AND RELATED PEOPLES OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN AND BELGIAN CONGO

East Central Africa
Part IX

P. T. W. Baxter and Audrey Butt

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY
OF AFRICA

ROUTLEDGE

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ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA
EDITED BY DARYLL FORDE

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA
PART IX

The Azande, and Related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo

BY
P. T. W. BAXTER and AUDREY BUTT

LONDON
INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE
1953

This study is one section of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa which the International African Institute is preparing with the aid of a grant made by the Secretary of State under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, on the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Research Council.

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Foreword

THE International African Institute has, since 1945, been engaged on the preparation and publication of an Ethnographic Survey of Africa, the purpose of which is to present in a brief and readily comprehensible form a summary of available information concerning the different peoples of Africa with respect to location, natural environment, economy and crafts, social structure, political organization, religious beliefs and cults. While available published material has provided the basis for the Survey, a mass of unpublished documents, reports, and records in government files and in the archives of missionary societies, as well as field notes and special communications by anthropologists and others, have been generously made available, and these have been supplemented by personal correspondence and consultation. The Survey is being published in a number of separate volumes, each of which is concerned with one people or a group of related peoples, and contains a comprehensive bibliography and specially drawn map.

A committee of the Institute was set up under the Chairmanship of Professor Radcliffe-Brown, and the Director of the Institute has undertaken the organization and editing of the Survey. The generous collaboration of a number of research institutions and administrative officers in Europe and in the African territories was secured, as well as the services of senior anthropologists who have been good enough to supervise and amplify the drafts.

The work of the Survey was initiated with the aid of a grant from the British Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council, to be applied mainly, though not exclusively, to work relating to British territories. A further grant from the Sudan Government has assisted in the preparation and publication of sections dealing with that territory.

The Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire were good enough to express their interest in the project and, through their good offices, grants have been received from the Governments of French West Africa and the French Cameroons for the preparation and publication of sections relating to those areas. These sections are being prepared by French ethnologists with the support and advice of Professor M. Griaule of the Sorbonne and Professor Th. Monod, Director of I.F.A.N.

The collaboration of the Belgian authorities in this project was first secured by the good offices of the late Professor de Jonghe, who enlisted the interest of the Commission d'Ethnologie of the Institut Royal Colonial Beige. The collaboration of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale has also been readily accorded. Work relating to Belgian territories is being carried out under the direction of Professor Olbrechts at the Centre du Documentation of the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, where Mile. Boone and members of her staff are engaged on the assembly and classification of the vast mass of material relating to African peoples in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. They work in close collaboration with ethnologists in the field to whom draft manuscripts are submitted for checking.

The International African Institute desires to express its very grateful thanks to those official bodies whose generous financial assistance has made the carrying out of this project possible and to the many scholars, directors of research organizations, administrative officers, missionaries, and others who have collaborated in the work and, by granting facilities to our research workers and by correcting and supervising their manuscripts, have contributed so largely to whatever merit the various sections may possess.

Since the unequal value and unsystematic nature of existing material was one of the reasons for undertaking the Survey, it is obvious that these studies cannot claim to be complete or definitive; it is hoped, however, that they will present a clear account of our existing knowledge and indicate where information is lacking and further research is needed.

In connection with the preparation of this volume, our thanks are especially due to the following: Professor Evans-Pritchard, who assisted in the preparation of the first draft of the present study; Professor A. N. Tucker and Miss M. A. Bryan, for help with the language sections, the orthography,

and the map; Mlle. O. Boone, of the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, for advice on the classification of peoples dominated or influenced by the Azande; and Mrs. G. M. Culwick, Mlle. H. van Geluwe, M. R. Breugelmans, and Mr. F. R. J. Williams, who kindly allowed the use of their unpublished material, and Mr. John Middleton and Mr. T. A. T. Leitch, who read some sections of the manuscript and supplied additional data. We are also grateful to Mr. G. Janson-Smith, Director of Education, Southern Sudan, who kindly obtained for us advance information from the 1951 *Equatoria Handbook* before publication.

A list of sections already published will be found on pp. 151 and 152 of this volume.

DARYLL FORDE,
Director,
International African Institute.

Preface

In his *Eastern Sudanic Languages,* Vol. I, Tucker divides the peoples speaking the languages of this category into four main groups as follows:–

1. The Moru-Madi Group.
2. The Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi Group.
3. The Ndogo-Sere Group.
4. Zande (and other unrelated Sudanic Languages).

In the main, this Survey follows Tucker's classification and is an attempt to collate and present most of the available ethnographic material on certain of these peoples. The present study does not, however, include all the peoples speaking these languages; it is confined to those of the southern Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and northern Belgian Congo—most of whom have been incorporated in, or influenced by, the Azande and Mangbetu chiefdoms. Thus, the Eastern Sudanic peoples of the greater part of the Ubangi-Chari and Tchad districts (of French Equatorial Africa), the Bagirmi and Sara peoples of language group 2 above, and the Banda, are excluded.

In Part I the section on the Azande is the main component, for they have been much more fully discussed than all the other peoples together, and they are the dominant political and cultural group. The main sources of information about the Azande (and also some of the peoples of Part II) are the writings of Evans-Pritchard and Lagae. Although there is considerable material on ritual and belief, all sources are deficient on social organization. The many peoples who have been subjugated by the Azande, or whose social organization is similar, have been considered in the section on "Classification of incorporated, subject, and neighbouring peoples "(p. 26). Material on these groups is particularly scanty, and further information might well show that some of them stand apart from the Azande and would merit separate treatment. Tucker's *Eastern Sudanic Languages* is the most

useful single book on these scattered and little-known peoples, as regards their locations, populations and dialects, and is of great assistance in unravelling a most confused and complex group.

Part II is devoted to a consideration of the Ndogo-Sere group, the Moru-Madi group, and the Bongo-Baka group—excluding, as stated above, the Bagirmi and Sara peoples and related groups in the French territories. It is not possible to present a complete account of each people, as the source material is not available and there is little point in making remarks so vague that they could apply to almost any African people; instead, more detailed accounts have been given of the particular aspects of their social life which have been fairly closely investigated. Where independent treatment is impossible owing to lack of material, tribal groups which seem to be very similar in culture and organization are treated together—as, for instance, the southern Madi and the Lugbara. For some of the less prominent groups, on which there is little information, only names and locations are given.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that, apart from the unfortunate lack of knowledge, the area has been so disrupted by invasion, slave traders, war, disease, and administrative partition, that a satisfactory account of most of the peoples is almost impossible.

Contents

Cover
Half Title
Title
Copyright
Original Title
Original Copyright
FOREWORD
PREFACE
CONTENTS
PART I. THE AZANDE GROUP OF TRIBES

I. GENERAL

Introduction
Nomenclature
Location
Population
Language
Physical characteristics
Temperament, manners, and habits
Dress
Tribal marks and personal ornamentation
Crafts

II. AN OUTLINEOF ZANDE HISTORY

The indigenes and the Sudanic invasions
The Mangbetu
The Avungara invasion

The Ambomu
Traders and slavers
European conquest
Missions
Internal development
The Zande Scheme
III. Classificationof Incorporated, Subject, and Neighbouring Peoples
A. Peoples ruled and influenced by the Azande
(i) Peoples completely " Zandeized "
(ii) Peoples ruled and greatly influenced by the Azande
(iii) Peoples slightly influenced by or neighbouring the Azande, but in general politically separate
(iv) Notes on other names relating to Zande or " Zandeized " populations
B. Peoples ruled and influenced by the Mangbetu
IV. Ecology
Mode of life
The agricultural year
Food production and diet
The homestead
Division of labour and the position of women
V. The Formal Political Structureof Zande Society
The political authority of the Avungara
chiefs
deputies
Political and social status
Ambomu and Auro

slavery
status of women
commoners
Avungara
the Avungara myths
Legal aspects of Zande social organization
the legal authority of the Avungara chiefs
the " legal " importance of the Zande oracle
Economic organization
Military organization
VI. SOCIALAND KINSHIP ORGANIZATION
Zande clans
incest and exogamy rules
Kinship
affines
Marriage
Divorce
extra-marital relations
Birth
twins
adoption
Status
Circumcision
Blood-brotherhood
Death
mourning
Avungara funerary rites

VII. WITCHCRAFT, ORACLES, AND MAGIC

The nature of witchcraft

witchcraft as the cause of misfortune
witchcraft and moral notions
mechanism of witchcraft
counter-action
dreams and witchcraft
gall-bladder men and other agencies of misfortune

Witch-doctors
Leeches, leechcraft, and sickness
Oracles

the *benge* or poison oracle
other oracles

Types of magic

sorcery
magicians

Associations for the practice of magic

VIII. ZANDE RELIGION

The *tuka*
the *atoro*
the *agalisa*
Mbori—the Supreme Being
rain stoppers
Ture

PART II.

I. THE NDOGO-SERE GROUP

Tribal groups

Ndogo
Sere
Bai
Bviri
Tagbu
Feroge
Indri
Togoyo
Golo
Witchcraft, oracles, and magic

mystical forces
witchcraft
sorcery
witch-doctors
oracles and ordeals
the Makau movement
II. The Moru-Madi Group

Linguistic sub-groups
History
Location and population
Physical measurements
The Northern or Moru sub-group

Economic life
social and political organization
age grades
clans
marriage
the Bori rain-making clan
magic and sorcery
burial and grave monuments

The Central sub-group

The Logo

distinctive cultural features
economy
social and political organization
marriage
religious beliefs and magic
The Keliko and Avukaya

distinctive social and cultural features
The Southern or Madi sub-group

The Madi

distinctive cultural features
economy
social and political organization
religious beliefs and cults

The Lugbara

distinctive cultural features
economy
crafts
social and political organization
life cycle
religion and ritual

The Luluba
The Lendu

dress
economy
crafts
social and political organization
life cycle
birth and initiation
marriage
death and burial
religion, ritual, and magic

III. THE BONGO-BAKA GROUP

Tribal groups

Bongo
Baka
Amadi District peoples
Rumbek District peoples
other groups
Kreish

The Bongo

name
location and population
language
distinctive cultural features
history
economic organization
crafts
social and political organization
marriage
burial
magic

Other tribes of the Bongo-Baka group

BIBLIOGRAPHY
INDEX

MAP

A-1
A-2
A-3
A-4
i
ii
iii

iv
v
vi
vii
viii
ix
x
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77

78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114

115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150

Guide

Cover
Title
Copyright
FOREWORD
PREFACE
CONTENTS
Start of Content
BIBLIOGRAPHY
INDEX

Part I
The Azande Group of Tribes

I.
General

INTRODUCTION

The Azande group of tribes dwell in the heart of Africa on the Nile-Congo Divide, and straddle the boundaries of the Equatoria Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Ubangi-Chari Province of French Equatorial Africa, and the Upper and Lower Uele Districts of the Belgian Congo. They are an agglomeration of invading Sudanic and indigenous tribes of different origins, languages and cultures who, during the last two centuries, have been moulded into a more or less common social pattern by the extraordinary military and political domination of the Ambomu conquerors, under the leadership of their ruling clan, the Avungara. Some peoples have been completely absorbed and have lost their distinct identity; their tribal names have degenerated to clan names so that they now consider themselves as Azande. Others, such as the Abarambo, have not been entirely reduced but are rapidly becoming so, their own language being relegated to second place, and the young men often calling themselves Azande.

There are also the congeries of peoples known as Abandiya (from the name of the ruling clan), who are completely Zandeized in language and custom, and appear as a construction in miniature of the Zande nation;

indeed such is the prestige of the Avungara that the Abandiya clan have fabricated a lineage connection with them.

To the south there is a group similar to the Azande, known as the Mangbetu. They have developed almost as a parallel growth, but they form an independent structure with its own internal strength, and are not subject peoples.

Mangbetu, like Avungara and Abandiya, is the name of the ruling clan and, though it is the name usually applied to the people, the true generic name equivalent to Azande would seem to be Makere.[1] Their mode of life and their social and political organization, though not identical with, are essentially similar to, those of the Azande, and will here be so considered.

The Azande, by their strength and superior organization, have naturally influenced the Sudanic peoples with whom they are contiguous, such as the Logo. Their contact with the Bantu, Nilotic, and Nilo-Hamitic peoples has usually been hostile, and mutual influence has been slight. They and the Dinka, for instance, hold each other in scorn as savages.

Separate consideration of the many peoples assimilated, affiliated, and related to the Azande, even if the meagre literature available made it possible, would be repetitious. This study will, therefore, consist of a general compounded account of the "Azande" group, while the term "Avungara" will be used when referring to the ruling clans. The separate notes on the component and subject peoples, giving their geographical position, and information which points to any known dissimilarities from the Zande pattern, are given in Section III (pp. 26-40).

NOMENCLATURE

The name "Azande" is spelt in many different ways:[2] *Asande, Assandeh, Badjande, Bazenda, Basingi, Sande, Sandeh, Zandeh,* and sometimes the name of a section is used to signify the whole, as for example, *Abandiya, Adio, Avungara, Makaraka,* and the perennial *Niam-Niam.* In common usage "Azande" is generally used for the people, and "Zande" for the individual, and as an adjective.

The origin of the name Azande is obscure as it has never been a clan name and has no geographical origin. Van den Plas[3] suggests that "Azande" means

those who live on the earth, those who possess a great deal of the earth, or even “ceux qui ont soumis de grandes terres.” This theory fits well with both the habits and the history of the Azande who were great conquerors.

The name *Niam-Niam* is still sometimes used of the Azande and has many variations in spelling: *Gnam-Gnam, Dem-Dem, Jem-Jem, Lem-Lem,* and *Nyam-Nyam.* It has been used since the time of the mediaeval Arab geographers to describe vaguely those people inhabiting the cannibal belt of Central Africa. The most commonly accepted explanation is given by Schweinfurth, who states that the name is borrowed from a dialect of the Dinka and means “great eaters”—referring to the cannibal propensities of the people. It has frequently been suggested that the word is an onomatopoeic representation of the smacking of lips.[4] If the term is thus extended to include tribes which are only similar in so far as they happen to be cannibals, it becomes too vague to be useful. The name *Niam-Niam* is now archaic and, though much used in early works, should be dropped from modem descriptive writing.

LOCATION[5]

The Azande proper extend over an elongated, semi-circular region, with the Uele River as the base line. Below this there are some projections into Bantu country, and the south-eastern end is swollen by the accretion of related peoples such as the Mangbetu, the Amadi, and the Logo. The whole is contained within the rectangle made by the parallels 23° and 30° Long. E., and 2° 50’ and 6° Lat. N. More precisely the boundaries of Zandeland (excluding the Mangbetu, Amadi, and Logo) can be taken as starting in the north-east, from the intersection of the Sueh River and the line of latitude 6° N., extending to the Tore River at 30° Long., and southwards nearly to Van Kerchovenville. Along the Tore River and the west bank of the Yei River is the Makaraka section of the Azande. The boundary then follows the Kibali River to Niangara; from there it follows the Uele River as far as 23° Long. E. Along this line there are groups projecting to the south, the largest being enclosed in a pear-shaped area stretching along the courses of the Bomokandi, Makongo, and Teli Rivers as far as Nala. There is a projection extending about 50 miles along the Bima River; and another to the south

from Angomuke nearly to Buta on the Rubi River, with the Likati River course as the western boundary.

The left bank of the Uele was the line held by Bantu peoples such as the Ababua against Sudanic pressure, though it was pierced at points. From its westernmost extension on the 23° Long. E., the boundary extends across country to the Mbomu River, and then runs parallel to the Shinko River to 6° Lat. N., which line is approximately the northern boundary of Zandeland. (There is, according to the map of the Azande given in Maes and Boone,[6] a single extension of Azande into Nzakara country.)

There are some small groups of Azande in the Belgian Congo around Zobia, and between the Bomokandi River and Niangara.

Boundaries, it will be seen, are often demarcated by rivers, and the Azande, though not a riverain people in the same way as the Shilluk are, tend to live near water-courses where the wetter, richer soil is usually found.

POPULATION

The population of Zandeland cannot be calculated exactly, although there are many estimates. Unfortunately it is often difficult to tell exactly what boundaries the estimators have used, and whether they include related tribes such as the Mangbetu. In 1870 Schweinfurth[7] estimated the population as at least two millions. Van den Plas, quoted by J. E. T. Philipps,[8] estimated the population as between three and four millions. These seem to have been over-estimates even though the area has since been ravaged by sleeping sickness and other diseases.

Modern figures certainly make the numbers much less. Tucker[9] gives the total population as 750,000, which is arrived at by adding up the figures obtainable from the colonial governments concerned. The largest group consists of those in the Belgian Congo, who number over half a million distributed as follows:

Territory of the Avungara	Centre Ango	72,527 out of	72,605
Territory of the Avuru-Wando	Centre Dungu	175,774 „ „	177,002
Territory of the Avuru-Kipa-Amadi-Abarambo	Centre Poko	93,061 „ „	158,900
Territory of the Abandia	Centre Bondo	107,839	"Zandeized" Mongwadi.
Territory of the Madjara	Centre Niangara	72,313,	population largely of Nilotic origin.

According to Tucker, the second largest group (those living in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) numbers 231,000. At the time of the Census these were concentrated around Tembura and along the Tembura-Yambio and Yambio-Maridi roads because of sleeping sickness regulations; they are now dispersed again.[10]

The Azande of French Equatorial Africa number about 21,000, distributed as follows:

Subdivision of	Bangassou	1,945
„	„ Rafai	6,886
„	„ Zemio	6,042
„	„ Obo	3,335
„	„ Djemah	2,786

In 1949 Langley[11] quoted the population as: Belgian Congo, 500,000; Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 200,000; and French Equatorial Africa, 80,000; but the last figure seems too swollen to be true, and Wyld[12] gives the number as 25,000 to 30,000.

Paradis[13] observes that there has been a steady fall in the proportion of children to mothers in the Uele Province of the Belgian Congo, which is the province in which most of the Mangbetu and Azande dwell. Instead of the percentage of children to women being the 130% required for the population to reproduce itself, it is only 53% to 58%—the Dungu, Niangara and Poko districts having the lowest percentages. The proportion of children to women has been steadily decreasing while correspondingly the sterility rate for both sexes has grown: 44.51% of the women and between 50% and 60% of the men having had no issue. Lelong[14] variously suggests as possible reasons for the population trend and the low fertility rates, the tendency for the older

men to monopolize the younger women, polygyny, and the widespread effects of syphilis.

The Zande of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan also suffer from a dearth of children, and an analysis of the records of Yambio sub-district since 1933, made by Dr. P. Abbott in 1947, suggested that the population had been more or less stationary since 1940. The Azande themselves attribute this considerable drop in the birth-rate to the great increase in adultery which has been a consequence of the destruction of their old institutions.

There are no animal population figures for Zandeland, which is in the tsetse area, and the only livestock the Azande keep are their hairless hunting dogs[15] and a few small chickens. In the south the Meje and Mamvu have some goats.

LANGUAGE

The Zande language is spoken throughout the whole of Zandeland as a first or, in some instances, at least as a second language.[16] Several different dialects are spoken, but they are all more or less similar and are mutually intelligible, the differences consisting largely in pronunciation, the number of imported words, and word variations derived from a common stem. Even among tribes, such as the Amadi, who were not actually conquered, most individuals can at least understand Zande. This cohesion is most remarkable, particularly in comparison with the confusion of languages spoken by the peoples surrounding the Azande, and is perhaps the most notable evidence of the cultural domination of the Azande over the unrelated tribes which compose the Zande nation. The adoption and further spreading of Zande language, culture, and social institutions seem to have gone hand-in-hand.

Van den Plas[17] distinguishes five dialectal variants, but points out that the language is fundamentally uniform.

1.	Mbomu.	Spoken on the Api, Upper Mbomu, Gurba, and Bwere Rivers.
2.	Sueh and Maridi.	Spoken in Equatoria Province and known as “le dialecte anglais.”

3.	Bile.	Spoken along the right bank of the Uele and the Dungu Rivers as far as 26° Long.; also along the Bima River, and in the enclave between the Bomokandi and Ulali Rivers.
4.	Bandiya.	Spoken west of 26° Long, and north of the Uele River in the Bondo and Rubi River regions, and in French territory. It contains the highest percentage of foreign words.
5.	Bamboy.	Spoken in the east, to the south of the Kibali River and between it and the Dungu River, where it is spoken along both banks and at the mouth of the Aka River and in the Yei River district.

The Azande recognize these regional differences and will say of someone that he "speaks like a Bandiya."

Certain early observers, including Larken,[18] believed that the Avungara had a language of their own, which was, however, dying out; Evans-Pritchard asserts that no such language was spoken and that both chiefs and commoners deny that it ever existed.[19]

Characteristics of the Zande Language [20]

Zande has seven vowel phonemes but 12 distinguishable vowel sounds.

Tone plays a large part both lexically and morphologically. There are two main tone levels only (as may be heard on the Zande slit drum (*gugu*) used for signalling).

Zande words are for the most part disyllabic, though monosyllables are common.

Formative elements are common, being mostly suffixed.

Plurality is indicated by means of the prefix *a*which may be attached to nouns, adjectives, or pronouns.

Grammatical gender is shown in the pronouns only. Four genders are distinguished: *(a)* masculine persons, (*b*) feminine persons, (c) animals, *(d)* inanimates.

There is no inflexion of nouns per case, case relationship being shown by position in the sentence and by means of prepositions. There is, however, a locative post-position, *yo.*

There are several derivative verbal species formed by means of suffixes and strongly reminiscent of Bantu.

There is no passive voice, but an idiomatic use of the third person plural. There are two Aspects, Indefinite or Imperfect and Definite or Perfect.

Verb tenses are very many and are formed by means of infixes between the personal pronouns and the stem, as in Bantu.

The sentence order is subject + verb + object. In the intimate genitive construction, the possessor follows the possessed, as in compound nouns. Personal possessive suffixes have their own specific forms.

In the non-intimate genitive construction, the possessor precedes the possessed and is itself preceded by the particle *ga*. Personal possessors are represented by the independent personal pronouns.

Adjectives precede their nouns, but numerals follow them.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Although the Azande are such a mixture of peoples, there seems to be a general impression among those who have lived in Zandeland that a Zande can be distinguished from his neighbours. It is even held that true Azande are distinguishable from the indigenes who have been "Zandeized" in culture but have not been entirely absorbed by dispersion and intermarriage. This is probably rather a social than an ethnic distinction, except perhaps for a few people like the Apambia, who, physically, have remained particularly separate from their conquerors.

Schweinfurth, an acute observer, gives a clear account of the physical appearance of the Azande, though unfortunately the records of the many measurements he made were destroyed. He notes their round broad heads and their extreme brachycephaly, the thick frizzy hair, and almond-shaped, somewhat sloping eyes shaded by thick, sharply defined brows. He describes a flat square nose, very thick lips, a round chin, and plump cheeks. Skin colour, dull chocolate. The average height does not exceed that of Europeans and a stature of 5 ft. 10½ ins. was the tallest that Schweinfurth measured. The upper part of the figure is long in proportion to the legs and their bodies are inclined to be fat.[21] Schweinfurth stresses the general similarity of the Azande, particularly when compared with their neighbours, and states that a

Zande may be identified at first glance amid the whole series of African races.[22]

There are various collections of measurements from the Sudan and the Congo, which seem to agree with each other. (The figures in brackets after the name of the investigator give the total number of subjects measured.)

	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	Stature
Pirrie [23]–(10)	79	—	—	—	1.72 m.
Evans-Pritchard–(23)	79	—	—	—	1.66 m.
Czekanowski [24]–(216)	78.2	82.5	85.9	54.0	1.70 m.
Tothill	—	—	—	—	1.69 m.
Culwick [25]–(374 men)	—	—	—	—	1.675 m.
(415 women) ..	—	—	—	—	1.575 m.

Mochi[26] includes some very detailed figures taken from a few skulls in the Museum at Florence, and has some plates of the same.

Azande and Mangbetu measurements seem to be similar, although Shrubsall[27] remarks that: "In the Azande skulls there is a slight occipital fullness not seen in the Mangbetu." The practice of binding infant skulls so that the cranium is elongated (which is prevalent among the Mangbetu, and distinguishes them from their neighbours) is not practised by the Azande, although they do knead infant heads to ensure that they take a proper shape.[28]

Azande are generally of stout physique; from a batch of over 1,000 examined for military service labour in World War II, less than 5% had to be rejected for "poor physique, anaemia, or age," which, even allowing for the fact that deputies would not have sent forward men of obviously low physique, is a remarkably low percentage.[29]

Most residents among the Azande have commented not so much on their physique as on their bearing, suppleness, and muscular agility. Schweinfurth[30] places them before other races of Africa in this respect.

TEMPERAMENT, MANNERS, AND HABITS

The true Azande are generally considered to be more intelligent than other tribes, and Evans-Pritchard[31] suggests that the Zande is quicker-witted than his neighbours because of his more numerous interests, his participation in a larger political and social unit, and his attendance at court where he not only becomes acquainted with a larger circle of gossip, but can participate, even if only tacitly, in court intrigue, and the administration of justice. It is, moreover, held that an Avungara can be distinguished from an Azande commoner, not by any measurable physical characteristics, but by a distinction in his bearing.[32]

The Azande themselves will often speak of their chiefs as if they were of different stock, but this is impossible since—although the Avungara may marry within their own clan—they are not obliged to take all their wives from within such narrow limits. A Zande always takes the clan of his father, so that sons whose mothers are commoners or even slaves are born as Avungara and may succeed to chieftainship and full executive membership of the ruling clan.

Daughters of Avungara may marry out of their clan into that of a commoner, in which case their sons will be commoners and follow the clan of their fathers, perhaps acquiring a certain prestige from their mother's blood, but no superior status.

Although it is perhaps the Zande political system which most strikes the observer, the ordinary Zande seems to be little concerned with politics and the questions about which he formerly spent so long fighting, and he readily accepts the decisions of his elders and superiors.

Europeans have commented variously and often unfavourably upon the Zande, yet no one seems to have lived among them without becoming attached to them. Europeans have reported favourably upon their discipline and the instinctive respect they show for those of higher status, particularly their Avungara chiefs.

The Azande were formidable and well-organized warriors whose prowess enabled them to resist the disintegrating pressure of the Arab slavers, and to present an organized resistance to the Europeans which won their respect. They were intelligent opportunists who, when they saw the futility of continued resistance to European conquest, were prepared to co-operate even to the extent of rendering faithful military assistance as, for instance, at the Battle of Rejaf in 1891.[33]

The Azande have, moreover, shown an interest in, and a facility for copying, European ways, which, combined with their native manual dexterity, has led European observers to forecast that "their pliability and relatively high intelligence will cause them to leave all other tribes of the southern Sudan far behind."[34]

They seem to possess courage, powers of endurance, adaptable intelligence, and craftsmanlike skill, while their political discipline is famous.[35]

The comparative cleanliness of the Azande has also impressed Europeans, who, however, have been repelled by their earlier cannibalism, their relish for putrescent, even liquescent flesh, and their habit of eating without masticating but simply hurling the food down the throat.

They are accused, like other African peoples, of having no conception of the value of work for its own sake, but only as a means of subsistence. Extra work, either to ensure a surplus of food crops, or to exchange for cash, does not seem to interest them.

Lelong[36] reports that the Mangbetu peoples of the south, particularly the women, are more exuberant and less reserved than the Azande. The Azande enjoy practical joking and laughing at others' misfortunes. Yet they are sensitive to chaffing, and ridicule or being mentioned by name in a song can be a serious matter, the sufferer being entitled to appeal to the chief for legal compensation from his abuser. *Sengae* or abuse generally consists of references to the victim's genitals.[37]

The Azande, in anger, will fight with knives and clubs, wrestle and slap each other with open hands, but will not use fisticuffs. Greeting and farewell are expressed by joining the middle fingers of the right hand and jerking them together "till they snap and crack again";[38] when doing this with a superior, a woman may bow, and both sexes will lower a load or a weapon before a superior as a sign of respect. The Azande do not kiss. In ordinary relations a Zande seems to be cheerful, loquacious, excitable, and generous, though Larken insists that he is also "idle," "improvident," and "untruthful," summing him up as "like a dishonourable school-boy."[39]

Both sexes sleep naked, using logs for pillows or wooden headrests. A fire is considered a necessary night comfort, and the Azande do not like sleeping in the dark. Babies and young children sleep in their mothers' arms, and many suffer, like so many African children, from burns caused by rolling into the fire.

Azande feel damp and cold acutely, and use the same word for both.[40] They even claim that they smoke as protection against the cold. Both tobacco and hemp are smoked, though they are only lightly cultivated, the latter surreptitiously since European administration. Tobacco pipes, usually about 3 ft. long, are precious possessions, and one of the employments given to small sons is to carry them for their fathers when the latter go on a visit. The smoke is inhaled in one huge puff, which provokes dizziness and near insensibility. There is a suggestion[41] that tobacco is indigenous to the Zande area for, while other tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal use the word *taba,* the Azande use their own *gbakara* or *bagbuduma.* Both sexes smoke.

Azande eat heavily when they can, but, when food is short, seem to bear hunger well, and it is bad manners to seem eager to eat, though this convention is relaxed when the food is termites and meat.[42] Drunkenness is rare.[43]

DRESS

The Azande are contemptuous of those who go completely naked, and the Nilotic people who do so are classified together under the derogatory term *bowuu*.[44]

The traditional dress of the Zande man is a single piece of undyed reddish-brown bark-cloth, *roko,* worn between the legs and tucked over a thong which secures it round the waist. The material is not washable and it is worn until it is in shreds. A bunch of leaves fore and aft secured round the waist by a thong used to be the usual dress of the women. Young children go naked. Azande have taken rapidly to European dress; even the Avungara, who are the most conservative element in Zande society, succumbed early to its attractions.

Before the extension of Ambomu domination, many peoples used to wear skins. Schweinfurth[45] describes the various skins worn in eastern Zandeland, even after the Avungara conquests, when bark-cloth was still reserved for special occasions. The skins, like the bark-cloth, were worn fastened to a girdle.[46] A type of large apron of antelope-hide, worn over the front of the body to protect the wearer against the dew on tall grass, is still in use.

The Azande normally walk barefoot, but they have a type of wooden shoe called *rakata,* and men will sometimes wear flat green-hide sandals for journeys.

The Azande spend hours on their coiffure and on the making of plaited straw hats, and there are several descriptions of the elaborate forms into which both may be shaped, or even woven into each other. There seem to be no distinctive styles reserved for different sections of society and fashions change frequently.[47] Feathers are frequently used for decoration. Cases of baldness are rare, but in such circumstances wigs may be worn, and Larken even noticed one false beard. Some people grow their hair excessively long, and this is regarded as the gift of *Mbori,* the Supreme Being, and is never cut.

A light, glossy, supple skin is much admired, and the Azande do not daub themselves with ashes or soils, but instead anoint themselves with oils or animal fats when these can be obtained. These also provide protection against the weather which, particularly in November, at the beginning of the dry season, is raw and causes the lips and skin to chap.

Tribal Marks and Personal Ornamentation

Azande have no specific tribal markings and they do not tattoo although they make elaborate keloid patterns all over the face and trunk. This practice is common all over Zandeland, and particularly in the Belgian Congo. Except under Arab influence, the face is not scarred. Designs are painted with a pointed stick on top of the scarification pattern, in a mixture of *mbiango* juice and charcoal, which is a persistent dye. The Azande do not make great use of ornament, but ear lobes and noses are sometimes pierced for decoration, and pieces of quartz, pegs of wood, or cartridge cases may be inserted. Coils of brass wire (*maka*), like compressed springs, are worn by some women round the forearm. Beads and magic whistles may be suspended round the neck or from the belt, but their purposes are not primarily decorative.

A“V” gap is chiselled between the central pair of upper incisors and, though all Azande do this, it is decorative rather than distinctive. Male circumcision is now general.

CRAFTS

The Azande and Mangbetu are noted among Central African peoples as craftsmen and artists. Their superior material culture, particularly their spears, knives, and shields, was one of the principal means by which they overcame their neighbours, and caused their culture to spread and dominate. Schweinfurth's *Artes Africanae* and Baumann's *Die Materielle Kultur der Azande und Mangbetu* both illustrate admirably the technical details and aesthetic merits of the Zande productions.

Basket-making, net-weaving, pottery-making, smelting, metal-working, ivory-and wood-carving are all known to them, and their huts and granaries, within the limits of their materials, are excellently constructed and often spacious. Schweinfurth[48] estimated that the Mangbetu King Munza's assembly hall was "at least a hundred feet in length, forty feet high and fifty feet broad," and he mentions another close by that was even more spacious.

Almost every space of wall that will take pigment is decorated, either pictorially or geometrically, though the basic colours are limited to red, black, and white.[49] The Azande are responsive not only to plastic arts but also to music. They make drums, tambourines, cymbals, and types of xylophone and guitar. Their favourite instrument is the mandolin.[50] Their artistic and musical temperament contrasts with that of their northern and eastern Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic neighbours who, however, possess more finely developed religious conceptions.

Notes

1 Vekens, 1928; Lelong, 1946, vol. I, pp. 76-8.

2 See J. Maes and O. Boone. 1935, p. 28.

3 1921, I, p. 10, and Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 10-11

4 Seligman, 1932, p. 495.

5 This rough delimitation is based primarily on Van den Plas, 1921, 1922, 1925, and Maes and Boone, 1935, but has been checked by other maps. See map.

6 Maes and Boone, 1935, p. 33.

7 1873, vol. I, p. 466.

8 1, 1926, p. 24; 5, 1946-9, p. 194.

9 1940, p. 16. The tables are from p. 17. The dates of the tables are not given, but the book is dated 1940, so they must be a year or two prior to that.

10 *The Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, gives a 1948 estimate of 181,000 souls for Zande district. These are the latest and most accurate figures for the area.

11 1949, pp. 216-17.

12 1949, p. 47.

13 1947. The supporting figures are scattered throughout the article, the most important being on pp. 854 and 857.

14 1946, vol. I, p. 99.

15 "Small head resembling a wolf-hound, but with short sleek hair, they have ears that are large and always erect, and a short curly tail like that of a young pig." (Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 15.)

16 Tucker, 1940.

17 2, 1921, p. 64.

18 1923, p. 240, also Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 37.

19 Seligman, 1932, p. 497.

20 Personal communication from A. N. Tucker.

21 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 5.

22 Ibid., p. 4.

23 Pirrie and Evans-Pritchard are quoted by Seligman, 1932, p. 46, who also quotes Czekanowski's figures from *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo Zwischengebiet,* pp. 406-7.

24 1 948, p. 916. Source of figure not stated.

25 *A Dietary Survey,* para. 264. Mrs. Culwick notes the nearness of all those measured to the average.

26 1906.

27 1901, p. 257.

28 Larkin, 2, 1926, p. 11; for a detailed account of the various methods of binding see Dingwall, 1931, pp. 116—18.

29 Lorenzen, A.E. in Tothill, 1948, p. 269.

30 1873, vol. II, p. 12.

31 Evans-Pritchard, 22, 1937, p. 14.

32 Seligman, 1932, p. 497.

33 See Lotar, *Rejaf et son Histoire.*

34 Spence, quoted by Maurice, 1930.

35 Culwick, 1950, para. 34, states that this has now often degenerated into servility.

36 1946, vol. II, p. 77.

37 Evans-Pritchard, 16, 1933; blood-brothers have licence, which is not permitted to others, to chaff each other freely in this way.

38 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. I, p. 442.

39 2, 1926, p. 14.

40 Larken, loc. cit. Although the words given in Canon Gore's *Dictionary* are not identical

41 Larken, 3, 1927, p. 92.

42 Culwick, 1950, para. 193.

43 Larken, op. cit., p. 91.

44 Reynolds, 1904, p. 239.

45 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 4.

46 The tails of these skins are one of the reasons put forward to account for the continued suggestions that the Niam-Niam had tails. For an account of the history of this argument, summing up in its favour, see Abd-el-Hamid, 1854.

47 For a particularly elaborate style, with illustration, see Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 7.

48 1873, vol. II, p. 42.

49 Larken, 3, 1927, p. 93.

50 Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 29.

II.
An Outline of Zande History

African history, prior to European contact, must of its very nature be largely a matter of hypotheses constructed out of legends and comparisons of physical types, languages, and culture traits. But with regard to the Azande we are lucky in that they possess a large body of fairly reliable legendary history and, since they were a conquering people who consolidated their conquests, the territory they conquered is permanent evidence of their movements. In addition, for a century they have been in contact with Europeans interested enough to record accurate data, and, finally, for 13 or 14 generations they have been ruled by dynastic chiefs whose genealogies are remembered and can be checked.

Considerable research has been devoted to plotting the movements of the various waves of Sudanic invaders. De Calonne-Beaufaict[1] has produced a plausible but involved reconstruction on which the following summary is based. Hutereau's[2] miscellany is useful and Van den Plas'[3] summary even more so. Czekanowski's[4] sweeping generalizations, particularly about pre-history, are as incapable of proof as his immense array of information is irrefutable.

Tucker[5] gives an admirable summary which succinctly notes the key movements essential for an understanding of the present, and no more can be attempted in the brief survey here.

The Indigenes and the Sudanic Invasions

There is general agreement that originally the Uele area was peopled by groups of pygmies, known variously as *Aka, Tikki,* and *Efe*. But their density could only have been very slight and, to an invading agricultural people, the country would have been as good as empty. De Calonne-Beaufaict concluded that at the end of the 16th century the area was occupied by a small black people with a neolithic culture (the area is scattered with their artifacts), living in a state of symbiosis with the pygmies. These people, whom he styles the "proto-Momvu," spread along the axis Ruwenzori-Chari,[6] mixing in the east with Nilotic invaders from the north to form the Bari-Logo[7] group, and in the west with west African peoples to form the Makere of the Mangbetu group. This gradual expansion was disturbed by the first wave of Sudanic invaders, who absorbed some of the autochthones to form the present mixed groups such as the Apambia and Akare. The present Mamvu are descendants of these invaders and still live in a kind of symbiotic relationship with the pygmies. The newcomers crossed the upper Mbomu River in two flights, the Mayogo, Mundu, Bangba and Basiri group, and the Amadi group. Next came a Bantu influx from the south-east, the last phase of which coincided with the crossing of the lower Mbomu River by the second Sudanic wave of invaders from the north, who dispersed the Bantu Bangbinda vanguard which had reached the Bahr el Ghazal. Already the effects of the movements of the original Mamvu, and their remixing with the Sudanic invaders, plus the pressure from the northern Nilotes had created some very mixed elements: 1. the Logo group; 2. the Nile Madi; 3. the Bongo.[8]

The second Sudanic wave consisted of three traceable flights, the Abarambo, Abile-Angada, and Adio. The last-named suffered many movements and reverses. One of their sections, the Makaraka, now forms the most eastern group of the Zande hegemony and lives in the valley of the River Tore, a tributary of the River Yei, to which area, though thoroughly "Zandeized," they migrated in order to escape Avungara domination.

THE MANGBETU

The next series of invasions came from the south and was headed by the Mangbetu. Though the actual point of entry was from the south, the people

were Sudanic-speaking and of western origin; whether they were fresh invaders, or contained elements of the "proto-Momvu" group driven out by the first Sudanic wave, it is impossible to be certain. At any rate, by the 18th century they had established themselves along the Bomokandi River, and were strong enough not merely to withstand the Avungara onslaught, but also to use Avungara methods to extend their own territories. By the 19th century they had created a series of powerful military kingdoms, that of the remarkable King Munza being the wonder of all travellers.[9] After the death of Munza in 1873 the Mangbetu began to give way before the pressure of the Avungara, and were driven farther into the forests of the south, but they have maintained their identity and political system, only adjusting their mode of life as compelled to do so by their new environment, for example, in the type of huts they build or the crops they grow.

THE AVUNGARA INVASION

The last great invasion before that of the Europeans was the third Sudanic wave of Azande-Avungara, and this can be more or less accurately chronicled. The origin of these invaders remains a matter of dispute and mystery; the junction of the Mbomu and Shinko Rivers is their recorded starting place, but this would seem to have been but a halt in their migratory march. They are traditionally supposed to have started from the borders of a large lake, from which they were driven by people clad in white woven cloth.[10] The invasion had no central organization or direction but consisted of a number of independent warrior groups under Avungara chiefs, such as the Ambomu, who now form the dominant group of commoners in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and whose history seems typical.[11]

THE AMBOMU

King Gura (1755-80) carved out a domain for himself along the Lower Mbomu River and then despatched his sons[12] Mabenge and Tombo to

conquer kingdoms of their own. Mabenge went in the direction of the Uele River and Tombo to the south-west, while Gura himself consolidated his own position by absorbing the peoples living along the Mbomu River, from which his followers took their generic name of Ambomu.

On their deaths the kingdoms of Mabenge and Tombo were divided among their sons (*c*. 1805). Tombo's sons expanded their territories to the south-west, and the four sons[13] of Mabenge pushed out into the east; here we shall only follow the course of Yapiti (1805-35), the second son of Mabenge, who led the Ambomu as far as the upper Uele River, subduing the intervening Bangbinda, who were themselves Bantu invaders from the south.

His descendants continued his policy, enclosed the Amadi, Bangba, and the Abuguru and Baka peoples of the Sueh River, repulsed the Makaraka and the Kakwa, and even contested with the Mangbetu. One of Yapiti's grandsons,[14] Gbudwe, starting from the kingdom of his father Bazingbi (1835-60), on the Gurba River, began a systematic subjection of the Bahr el Ghazal, and fought with the Moru, Baka, and Golo. He also established his overlordship over neighbouring chiefs, creating what was perhaps the strongest and most strictly administered Zande kingdom, which survived until his death and European occupation.

Though there was a bond of kinship between all Avungara it did not prevent them from waging war upon each other, and King Gbudwe, for instance, overcame the neighbouring chiefdoms of several of his cousins, and established his own dependent kin in their places as chiefs owing allegiance to him.

The process has been described by Colonel Bertrand[15] and summarized by Tucker:[16] "The spread of Zande rule seems marked by the following characteristics: expansion under the direction of a popular hero; conservation and assimilation of the vanquished; death of the chief followed at once by anarchy and schism, fights between the would-be successors, followed by the ascendancy of one (or more) and the reassembling of the people accordingly; resumption of expansion and acquisition of new territories." This process was only halted by the enforcement of European rule.

TRADERS AND SLAVERS

Europeans and Arabs made contact first of all along the Nile and were active in the area before European conquest. Arabs had been vaguely aware of the regions to the south of Darfur for centuries, but the first systematic attempt at contact in modem times was made by members of Mehemet All's Sudan Expedition which reached Gondokoro in 1841. They were quickly followed by slave traders and ivory merchants, who were the first to attempt excursions in the Makua country. Their depots were established to the south of the Bahr el Ghazal, or at Ayak on the Rohl River.[17] They were soon followed by explorers-cum-traders such as Petherick, and wanderers such as Miani.

Egyptian control for trading, though not for governmental purposes, was rapidly established, and merchants, mostly Dongola, planted ivory and slave-trading stations deep in the south. With their firearms they easily dominated those natives who were not politically and militarily strongly organized. Using Khartoum as a base, they established *zeribas* all over the south from which they carried out slave and ivoiy raids, reducing the surrounding tribes to tributary status, or carrying their members off into slavery. Legitimate traders, such as Petherick and the Poncet brothers, were forced to sell out to them and retire.

The slave raiders' technique was to foster inter-tribal war, so as to divide their enemies, and obtain the prisoners of war as slaves. Their slave-raiding activities, their brutality and debauchery led them into almost unbelievably destructive excesses, villages being burned and vast areas depopulated. But, though they reduced whole provinces, mixed the remnants of large and formerly distinct populations, and nearly annihilated some peoples, such as the Bongo, they did not cause any large-scale migrations, so that though the totals are different, the present distribution of peoples in this area is very similar to that recorded by Schweinfurth, who was travelling there at the height of the slavers' activities in 1868-71.

The Khedive Said Pasha officially abolished the slave traffic, during a personal visit to the Sudan, as early as 1857, but he was powerless to enforce his edict.[18] With the unorganized peoples, such as those considered in Part II, the traders had things all their own way; not so with the Azande and the Mangbetu, who treated them as equals, and whose chiefs expected respect and lavish presents in return for their ivory,[19] Some chiefs obtained rifles from the soldiers employed by the slavers, like King Mofio, who equipped 300 chosen warriors and then defied the raiders. He collected large stocks of

slaves from his own subjected peoples or by raids on the Sere, Ndogo, etc., whom he sold on his own account. Genuine Azande were rare on the slave markets and young Zande girls fetched the highest prices in Khartoum.

Arab influence on the Azande has been only indirect; that of the Egyptian or Sudanese officials and later traders seems to have been greater, perhaps because their advent coincided with the restriction of Avungara autocracy. The Azande continued to extend their dominion over neighbouring tribes, and the passage of travellers and the establishment of the Khedive's government affected them little, the Administration's rule "being scarcely nominal," Towards the end, through havoc and depopulation, the Administration weakened some of the big kingdoms and caused them to break up into small chiefdoms; some, like Gbudwe, profited by the consequent weakness of their rivals to strengthen their positions. Under the Mahdia the Azande were left largely to their own devices.

EUROPEAN CONQUEST

The Anglo-French Convention of 1899, after the final defeat of the Mahdist forces, dis-established French posts in the Bahr el Ghazal and recognized joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan, at the same time delimiting its boundaries with French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, and Uganda.[20] Military administration followed fairly quickly in all the three parts of Zandeland, and effectively stopped the slave traffic and halted Zande expansion.

From 1905-14 the Azande of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were under a military administration which deliberately set out to break the power of the Avungara, and a similar policy was followed in the other two territories.[21] The civil administration, which took over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1920, reversed this policy and attempted to bolster up the Avungara chiefs. Otherwise, until the introduction of sleeping-sickness legislation, there was little intentional interference with the people or their way of life,[22] though the breaking up of the war organization, and the surveillance and control of the Avungara chiefs' legal power by District Officers, were bound to affect relations within Zande society. The Azande themselves regard European occupation as the end of an era, and look back with regret to former times.

Sleeping sickness arrived in Zandeland contemporaneously with European occupation,[23] and spread rapidly over the whole area, assisted by the opening of communications which accompanied settled government. The Sudan Government took preventive measures, closed the frontiers to Congo porters and donkeys, established quarantine posts, carried out inspections and isolated the infected in special settlements. Finally it concentrated all Azande together in large rectangular settlements along Government roads, away from the streams along which they habitually dwelt, and where tiypanosomes breed. The Belgian and, later, the French governments created somewhat similar agglomerations, also along the roads. Medically[24] these measures seem to have been very effective and by 1940 the disease was under control in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This, combined with the shortage of enforcement staff during the war, allowed the Azande to drift back to their old way of life.

MISSIONS

There is considerable mission activity in Zandeland, primarily Roman Catholic— though there is some Protestant activity in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—and now many thousands of Azande profess Christianity. These missions are responsible, with government backing, for elementary education. Islam has also gained many converts.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

Larken,[25] in the mid-nineteen-twenties, was able to write that there were no shops in Zandeland because of its extreme remoteness from railways, navigable waterways, and even good roads. Between the wars there was a gradual development of internal trade in spite of these limiting factors, and several reputable firms established shops, both mobile and stationary. Wyld[26] gives the following figures:

1931	District Revenue	£E 500
1947	,, ,, ...	£E 23,000
1931	Money placed in circulation	£E 11,000
1947	,, ,, ,, ,, ...	£E 75,000

There seem to be no Belgian or French figures but the development was similar, and many Avungara and Mangbetu in particular had a good revenue from cotton.[27]

THE ZANDE SCHEME

Since 1945 great changes have been planned for the Sudan Azande. The Azande, being the best organized and most amenable people of equatorial Sudan, have been chosen as the subject of a pilot experiment of a scheme which aims "to raise tribal standards" by the promotion of a "healthy market" and the establishment of manufactures throughout the southern Sudan. No development plan requiring large imports or exports[28] could be considered because of transport difficulties; so a self-sufficient scheme was devised for production, manufacture, and consumption all within the same area, having as its primary object to provide "the Azande with materials for clothes." Coffee and sugar are to be secondary crops, and a soap refinery is planned. The scheme is intended to give "universal and progressive education of the right kind," to create "a complete cultural background to suit the people and their circumstances," and to provide enlarged medical services, improved communications, and a radio station at Yambio.[29] A plan has been devised whereby the introduction of a cash crop shall be effected with the least possible disturbance of traditional habits. "The plan is to divide each chieftainship into units known as *gbaria,* each under a headman, who, according to tribal custom, is answerable to the chief or sub-chief.… The *gbaria* can best be described as dispersed villages. Each contains 50 families and covers an area of two to three square miles. Each family is allotted an area of 30 to 40 acres for cultivation on a long-term grass rotation system (modified shifting cultivation). The *gbaria* are laid out along straight

lines which are kept open as cycle tracks, and along which each householder is required to build his house to allow of easy access."[30]

By the end of 1948, 1,300 families[31] had been resettled, i.e., 70% of the population in the Yambio district.

Notes

1 1921.

2 1922.

3 1925, vol. I (Introduction).

4 1909, 1912, 1924; see Bibliography.

5 1940, pp. 23-36.

6 Bertrand, 1943, pp. ix-xiii.

7 Not to be confused with Nilo-Hamitic Bari.

8 Tucker, 1940, p. 26.

9 See Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II. chap. 14.

10 This legend agrees with the probable reasons for the general migrations in this area posited by de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 39:

1. Drying up of the southern Sahara.
2. Pressure of white-clad people from the north, probably Arabs.
3. A tradition of conquest which was passed on to the conquered people.

11 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 29.

12 Gura, according to de Calonne-Beaufaict (op. cit., p. 40) had six other sons whose "descendance restée obscure."

13 Nindu, Yapiti, Nunga, and Bogwa; Hutereau (1922, p. 152) adds a fifth, Degbia, whom de Calonne-Beaufaict (op. cit., p. 40) calls Hunguru. In any case his line faded out.

14 Gbudwe is known variously in different accounts as N'bio, Bodue, Yembio, Yambio, Gima, Sukangi (as a young man). It would seem that he was known more generally outside his kingdom as M'bio, and as Gbudwe within it. He ruled for about forty-five years.

15 Intro, de Calonne-Beaufaict, p. xvii.

16 1940, p. 29.

17 Casati, 1891, vol. I, p. 257.

18 See Baker's account in *Ismailia* for the attitude of the officials and the power of the slavers.

19 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 37.

20 There have been se\eral readjustments, the main revision being the cession of the Lado Enclave by Belgium to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1908.

21 In the Belgian Congo it was the Government's deliberate policy to lower the chief's prestige as a law-giver, etc. (Bertrand, 1943, p. 271); Lagae (6, 1926, p. 23) also complains of this.

22 This is not true of the old Congo Free State, before its annexation by Belgium in 1908, which was primarily concerned with exploitation, and in consequence forced labour to migrate to the rubber plantations. The authorities' relations with the chiefs, often commoner upstarts appointed by the Administration, were largely based on their own interpretation of treaties.

23 Maurice (1930, p. 214) suggests that Stanley's expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha introduced the disease into Uganda whence it spread to the Congo.

24 Wyld, 1949, p. 52

25 2, 1926, p. 10.

26 Loc. cit. Figures are for the Yambio district.

27 Lelong, 1946, vol. II, p. 249.

28 The only Zande cash crops prior to the scheme were a few chillies, honey, and beeswax.

29 Ferguson, 1949, p. 113.

30 Ibid., pp. 113-14.

31 Langley, 1949, p. 217.

III.
Classification of Incorporated, Subject, and Neighbouring Peoples

A. Peoples Ruled and Influenced by the Azande

Many of the various groups of people which today are known by the common name "Azande" formerly belonged to different ethnic and linguistic families. The spread of the Zande language and organization has been remarkably rapid and thorough, but towards the periphery of Zande power there are many groups which have been only partially "Zandeized" and others which have kept their own culture and language. The Mangbetu to the south dominated the surrounding groups in a similar way.

In this section the names of these peoples and their geographical locations, where known, will be given. Owing to lack of detailed information it is difficult in many cases to produce an accurate classification. Some of the Abarambo, for instance, have been influenced and ruled by the Azande, Makere and/or Mangbetu, and yet have preserved many distinctive features; some of the people included may by now have been completely absorbed by their influential neighbours.

The following list is fairly comprehensive but is not all-embracing.[1] Further ethnographic information on these peoples, where available, is given in later sections.

(i) PEOPLES COMPLETELY "ZANDEIZED"

Most of the following peoples are called Azande and their other names may, for all practical purposes, be ignored. They are mentioned only because reference is made to them in the literature. Some may be ethnographic inventions.

ABAGUA.—These people are not mentioned by Maes and Boone, but Evans-Pritchard[2] states that they are one of the amalgam of peoples to the west of Gbudwe's kingdom. Mbomu Azande tell strange stories about them (probably based on tricks of witch-doctors) and say that they can transform themselves into flies and change heads with other men and with animals.

ABAND1YA (Abandia, Abandja, A-Banja, Bandja, Bandjia, Bandy a).—The Abandiya are the most western of the Azande. The southern boundary of their territory lies along the parallel 4° N. between 23° and 24° E.; the western boundary runs from the junction of 23° E. and 40° N. to the Bomu River just below Rafai; it then follows the Shinko River to its junction with the Vovodo River, whence it bears west to about 25° E. The eastern frontier runs parallel to the western. According to Capenny,[3] the Abandiya were separated from the Azande by an uninhabited marshland. According to de Calonne-Beaufaict,[4] they advanced into Zandeland at the same time as the Avungara. They have a tradition that they deliberately "Zandeized" themselves, as well as the people they absorbed, in order to build up a nation under their domination. In this process they seem to have been completely successful.[5] Some of their clans are exclusive to themselves but most are also found scattered all over Zandeland.

They held their own against the Avungara for a long time but were eventually forced to recognize their superiority; they have, however, their own ruling clan,[6] which has fabricated a lineage connection with the Avungara.[7] Both Hutereau and de Calonne-Beaufaict have long historical notes on the Abandiya.[8]

ABANGOMBE.—Van den Plas[9] suggests that they may be related to the Apambia. The Azande have a tradition that they used to live in the hills. Evans-Pritchard[10] refers to them as a clan.

ABAZA (Baza).—The Abaza were originally a group of Gbandi (Mongbandi) who entered the Zande area as companions of the conquering Abandiya. The Ngbandi of the Yakoma-Banzyville area to the west of the Azande are sometimes spoken of as the Abaza, but those of Zandeland seem now to be dispersed. They still have a common totem—the antelope—and

seem to regard themselves as a clan rather than a people. De Calonne-Beaufaict'points out that the dialect has more similarities with Adio (Makaraka) than with Abandiya.[11] Their connection with the Abaza, whom Van den Plas[12] names as the ruling clan of the Abandiya, is not clear.

ABOLUPWE (Abotopwe, Adolupwe).—They are no longer a coherent group but are found scattered all over Zandeland—particularly in the Poko Valley in Barambo country, and among the Abandiya.[13] Tombo's forces encountered them in the Dume valley when they were neighbours of the Abwalemi, and it is said that they were already "Zandeized," though the fact that they built shelters in the trees suggested to de Calonne-Beaufaict that they might be related to the Abile peoples.[14]

ABUBAGE.—A very small and completely "Zandeized" group of the Gurba valley.[15]

ABWAMELI.—According to de Calonne-Beaufaict these people form two small chiefdoms near Zobia, and are Azande who fled from the Avungara when N'dene, son of Tombo, separated from his father and set out to conquer the people to the north of the Uele.[16] They are not mentioned by Maes and Boone who place the Makere and Ababua contiguously at Zobia.

ADIO or MAKARAKA (Bambeh, Idio, Kakaraka).—The name Makaraka, like *Niam-Niam,* denotes "eaters of human flesh."[17] They are the most eastern of the Azande and live along the Tore River, a tributary of the Yei River in the Sudan. Capenny[18] says they entered the district at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were fleeing from the Avungara domination.[19] Except that they were not ruled by Avungara chiefs they seem to have been completely "Zandeized." According to the 1948 census for the Mongalla area[20] there are 317 Adio taxpayers and they speak the only sub-dialect of Azande found in the Sudan, which is perhaps related to Bamboi.

AHOLI.—A group which is now dispersed throughout Zandeland and, though claiming a foreign origin, completely "Zandeized."[21]

AKOWE.—They may once have been a distinct people, but are now merely a Zande clan, though an important one.[22]

AMUVUMBA.—A group which, according to Van den Plas,[23] was reduced to two or three families living on the Sekunde, a tributary of the Gurba River. There seems to be no other mention of them except possibly a

reference in the *Bahr-el-Ghazal Handbook*[24] to Amuimba, described as one of the first people conquered by the Azande and now nearly extinct· They lived in the Yambio district. Anderson's[25] Aieumba, a people conquered by the Azande, and closely connected with the Bangbinda, might be the same. (See *(A)Bangbinda.)*

ANGADA.—They do not seem to have any coherence now, but according to de Calonne-Beaufaict[26] they were one of the peoples in the first wave of Sudanic invaders.

ANGBAGA.—Mentioned by Evans-Pritchard[27] as the originators of a method of ritual public burial used in the training of witch-doctors.

ANGOMBE.—Van den Plas[28] suggests that they may be the same as the Abangombe. They are scattered and very rare and pass everywhere as Azande. De Calonne-Beaufaict[29] mentions an Angonde section of the Makere.

ASIBALI.—There are only the smallest remnants left of what was once an independent people; they are certainly not Azande and might be a section of the Apambia or Babuker (Abuguru), among whom they dwell.[30] The Sudan Azande tell curious tales about their witch-doctors.[31]

(A)BANGBINDA.—These people are scattered all over the Congo and the Sudan;[32] those in the Sudan are related to and mixed with the Babuker (Abuguru) and the Huma,[33] and the available material does not permit of separate treatment. Some of the Sudan Bangbinda were driven from the Congo by the Azande, only to be conquered by Gbudwe. The Bangbinda of Maridi District of the Sudan have been absorbed into the Azande for several years.[34] Emin Pasha described them as part of the Makaraka[35] but Van den Plas[36] allows them a certain separate identity, though he agrees that they passed as Azande and regarded themselves as members of the Zande clan (A)Bangbinda. Anderson[37] states that they were closely connected with the Amieumba. They also intermingled with Huma and Bongo in the province ruled by Rikita (in 1930) to the north of the "prominent bend of the Sueh River eastwards, which occurs just north of 5° N." (See also *Amuvumba.)*

BANGBINDA (Ambwaga, Bay aka).—They were one of the invading Bantu groups who probably entered the Zande area near the junction of the Mbomu-Uele Rivers and penetrated into the Sudan as far as Doruma, being subsequently defeated by Mabenge and absorbed and "Zandeized" by his

grandson Renzi. The Abuguru and Akare moved with them, or independently at the same time, and the name Bangbinda often includes them. Groups are now found scattered all over Zandeland.[38] De Calonne-Beaufaict gives a conjectural history of their movements and suggests the Yakoma area as their original home. He states that to the south-west of the Uele River some independent groups may be found, but these are not mentioned by Maes and Boone.

BANGINDA.—A Bantu group absorbed by the Abandiya, except for a small group around Idembo on the Rubi River;[39] these are not marked by Maes and Boone. (See *Bangbinda.)*

BANGMINDA.—These are probably the most important of the subjugated peoples in the Yambio District of the Sudan;[40] they are now completely "Zandeized,"[41] though their foreign origin is remembered.[42] They first fled from the conquering Ambomu, but later returned to their old home and submitted to Avungara rule.

NGARA.—These are a people found among the Abandiya where they settled after fleeing from the Avungara. They have adopted the Zande language and customs and have forgotten their own.[43]

NGBAYA (See *Tokpwo*).—These people are merely mentioned by Van den Plas,[44] but nothing is known of them.

NGBOWU.—These are merely mentioned by Van den Plas.[45] (See *Tokpwo*.)

TOKPWO.—The Tokpwo are cited by Van den Plas[46] as being people of the Zande hegemony who had not yet disappeared, but he gives no location, merely suggesting that they might be related to the Mamvu. Since, however, there appear to be no other references to them, it is possible that he may refer to some dispersed Togbo (a Banda people) or Togoyo.[47]

(ii) PEOPLES RULED AND GREATLY INFLUENCED BY THE AZANDE

ABARAMBO (Barambo, Amiangba, Doriga and *Duga)*.—These people, who were formerly independent, are now split up into three groups.

A. The Northern Group (Amiangba), dwelling in the Sudan around and to the south of Tembura where they are the most important people in the district.[1] They were first conquered by Mabenge and Yapiti, and are now completely "Zandeized," only surviving as a separate people "in tradition."[2] Larken suggests that this area was where they first settled, and that those who fled from Mabenge are the constituents of groups B and C. Their old language had many affinities with Pambia, and differs from Congolese Barambo.

B. The Southern Group, living to the south of the Uele River which, from the Panga rapids to Suronga, forms their northern boundary. Their neighbours are, in the north-west, Azande; north-east, Amadi; east, Mangbele and Azande; south-east, Mangbetu; south, Azande; and south-west, Ababua.[3] They have been very much influenced by Mangbetu and Azande, and many of their neighbours are other Abarambo who have forgotten their own origin. Some of the people in this area are "free,"[4] but most have chiefs from among the "Abili Azande,"[5] Mangbele, Niapu, or Mangbetu.[6] Nys[6A] states that these chiefs are "nombreux et peu importants." According to Van den Plas their language had affinities both with Pambia and with Sere.[7]

C. The Central Group.—There are many dispersed Abarambo in an area between groups A and B, most of them completely absorbed but a few retaining a sense of their separate identity, for example the Duga[8] or Doriga. The Abarambo are believed to have entered this area as a group about the same time as the Abile, Angada, and Adio in the second Sudanic wave.[9] Larken's theory that they first settled in the north and that the Southern Group moved from there when Mabenge attacked them, may be confirmed by Hutereau, who states that most of group B were conquered by Nunga, the son of Mabenge.

Socially there is now little to distinguish the Abarambo from the Azande. Most of Lelong's[10] facts seem to point to a Zande-like organization, though magic seems to play a larger part in their lives. They are extensive cotton-growers.[11] In the old days they were feared as particularly ferocious cannibals.

ABUGURU (Abogura, Abugaru, Babuker, Baburus, Babukuri, Bakara, Bukuru).—The Abuguru are now found mostly in the Sueh River area north

of Yambio in the Sudan. They were conquered about 1850 by Bazingbi, father of Gbudwe. Tucker[12] says that there are some 436 taxpayers living in the Maridi area; Santandrea[13] notes some who live intermingled with the Huma in Tembura sub-District, and gives the total Huma-Babuker population as 770 taxpayers. Santandrea also reports a small settlement in the Kojali Hills at Raffili farther north. Larken states that, despite their long experience of Zande rule, they retain many "tribal characteristics" such as absence of clan totems and circumcision, and that some still speak "their own Bantu language."[14] Santandrea quotes Giorgetti[15] who considers them the least "Zandeized" of all the people under Zande rule, though Brock in 1918 wrote "they are now completely merged with the conquering Zande."[16] Their language is very similar to that of the Apambia, Huma, and Abarambo (see notes on these peoples, pp. 32, 34, and 30).

AKARE (A-Kari, A-Kahle, Bakare, Kare).—Except for a small number around Dem Zubeir[17] in the Sudan the Akare are to be found on both banks of the middle Bomu River in the area of Zemio, where they were driven by the Sudanic invaders with whom they mixed before being finally subjugated.[18] Being under Avungara rule they are included in the Zande political system but they retain their own language, though this is being replaced by Zande. According to Hulstaert the indigenous language must be classified among the Bantu languages of the North-west group.[19]

The name Akare, given them by the Azande, means "strangers the people refer to themselves by their own group names.

AMADI (Madi, Madyo, Amago, Aogo). (Not to be confused with the Madi of the Moru-Madi Group, see Part II.)—These people have been scattered a great deal but are mostly found south of Niangara, near Buda River, and to the north of the Uele River in its great southward bend between 26° 60' E. and 27° 50' E. These are the most important group; they have the Azande as neighbours to the north and north-east, the Mangbele to the east and south-east, and the Abarambo in the south-west and west. The Amadi entered this area with the first wave of Sudanic invaders in the 16th century, and soon moved to their present home, which they have frequently had to defend against both Azande and Mangbetu.[20] De Calonne-Beaufaict[21] holds that they are divided into two groups:

A. Amadi proper—subdivided into Bodo, Poro, Banga, Boi, and Bose.

B. Vumeni.

Collectively they are known as Amago or Aogo, by which name the Abarambo still call them. One group of Amadi—the Niapu—have been completely absorbed by the Mangbetu (who refer to all Amadi as Niapu).[22] Their language is a language of class suffixes and is closely related to that of the Mba *(“* Bamanga”), Mondunga, and Dongo. In the great bend of the Uele River to the north of Amadi they have kept their autonomy and their language. To the south of Niangara they have learnt the Mangbetu language but still speak their ancestral tongue. North of Niangara the people are “Zandeized.”[23]

AMIANGBA (Amiangbwa).—Amiangba is generally understood to refer to the Abarambo, or to a branch of them called by the Azande Amiangbwa, because, like termites, they had lost their way;[24] according to de Calonne-Beaufaict and Hutereau,[25] the name is also sometimes used for the Bangba. (See below, p. 33.) Evans-Pritchard[26] describes them as “one of the conquered peoples who are numerically important in the kingdom of Gbudwe,” and states that the designation is used scornfully. They are credited with the original ownership of the termite oracle and the rubbing-board oracle,[27] which were adopted by the Ambomu, and with rain-making powers.[28] They may also have had their own ceremony for contracting blood-brotherhood.[29] According to Santandrea,[30] Amiangba is merely another name for the Sudan Abarambo, also used sometimes to include the Apambia. He quotes the number of Sudan Abarambo or Amiangbwa taxpayers as 5,660. They are related, at any rate linguistically, to the Babuker (Abuguru), Huma, and Apambia, and Fr. Giorgetti[31] writes that the languages “may be classified as semi-Sudanic, and are to be linked with Zande,” which “they resemble though not very closely … in grammar and vocabulary.”

APAMBIA (Pambia, Pambiya).—The largest coherent group of these people lives in the granite hills of the Nile-Congo watershed west of Tembura, between the Mongo and Yubo Rivers and to the west of the Amiangba (Abarambo).[32] There are some scattered in the Belgian Congo, between the Gurba and the Upper Api Rivers, but this group speaks Zande and retains little knowledge of its ancestral language.[33]

The Sudan group was conquered about 100 years ago by Liwa, father of Tembura, who fled with his wives and some followers to live among them; later, when he had organized sufficient Azande around him, he made himself chief over all. One clan of the Apambia claims paternal descent from a chimpanzee, and in consequence never kills that animal.[34] Fr. Giorgetti[35] considers that the Apambia and the Abarambo may be looked upon as a single unit and designated by the term Amiangbwa. The two languages are almost identical "and may be classified as semi-Sudanic, and are to be linked with Zande." Santandrea says that there are 2,900 Apambia taxpayers. Van den Plas[36] suggests that the Abangombe and the Angombe may be, or have been, sections of the Apambia. (See also *Huma, Abarambo, Amiangba,* and *Abuguru (Babuker).)*

AVUKAYA (Abukaya, Avodia, Avokeya, Avokaiya).—Properly they belong to the Moru-Madi group,[37] but the southern section of these people, the Ojigä, are separated from the rest by the Adio, Mundu, and Baka, and have been very much "Zandeized."[38] The name itself[39] is said to be of Zande origin. Hulstaert considers that the Avukaya speak a dialect of the Logo group of languages.[40]

BAKA (Abaka, Baca).—Their original home was around Dungu whence they were driven by the Azande.[41] The largest group (2,033 taxpayers) now lives along the Sudan frontier near Maridi, extending over the border into the Congo, where there are some other scattered groups just north of Faradje. There is another small group in the Sudan near the Upper Tori River (30° *MY* E., 4° 20' N.).[42] Linguistically they belong to the Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi "larger unit"[43] and the main section is mixed with Moru speakers.[44] Ethnographically, Evans-Pritchard[45] places them in the Bongo-Mittu group and they are considered more fully in Part II. Wando conquered the Congo Baka,[46] and those who fled from him were subdued by Mange and Gbudwe,[47] since when they have been progressively "Zandeized." On the other hand, Zande witch-doctors of the Sudan have learnt many fresh techniques and medicines from the Baka. They and other peoples of the area use plant medicines, both to bring and prevent rain, that are not recognized in Zande technique.

BANGBA (Abangba, Abiangbwa, Amiangbwa, Mangba, Mangbe).—They occupy an area delimited in the north by the Uele-Kibali River,

between Niangara and the mouth of the Yebu River; in the east by the rivers Yebu and Wanga; in the south by the Bomokandi River as far as 28° 45' E.; in the west by the Ao and the Gada Rivers as far as Niangara, except for an enclave of Azande who live on the Gada River. They entered Zandeland with the first Sudanic wave of invaders[48] and by 1880 were under the rule of the Anunga branch of the Avungara.[49] Their language may be classified with Mayogo and the Ndogo-Sere group.[50] (See Part II.)

BELANDA (Balanda, Abare).—This name is used by Europeans and others to describe a single cultural unit (called Abare by the Azande) which is made up of two tribes of Nilotic and Sudanic stock. They live in the Sudan north of Tembura and between the Sueh and Wau Rivers, and also to the south of Bo River. There is also a group on the east bank of the Sueh River in the neighbourhood of Rafille. Numerically those of Nilotic stock predominate, but a large section living in the neighbourhood of Dem Zubeir comprises Sudanic elements. Belanda is a name originally given to them by the Bongo and it includes the Bviri (Mve-gumba),[51] a group of Ndogo-Sere (Basiri) origin, and the Bor (Mve-rodi), of Shilluk origin.[52] There are two ruling "tribes" among the Dem Zubeir group, the Fujiga and the Karmum.[53]

BIRI (Birri, Bvirri, Viri, Virri).—There is a small settlement of fugitives from French Equatorial Africa to the north of Dem Zubeir in the Sudan, and remnants of two former Biri sections have been found among them—the Viri Mbato and Viri Munga. According to Santandrea,[54] they are related to the Ndogo-Golo-speaking peoples (see Part II, pp. 97-100), but they seem to be partly "Zandeized "and are numbered among the "so-called Azande of Dem Zubeir." They should not be confused ethnographically with the Bviri section of the Belanda people (Mvegumba). Von Weise and Kaiser-Walden reported a group of 4,500 Biri in the Rafai area of the Congo, which, according to Santandrea, has now probably been reduced by two-thirds.[55]

BOR (Mbe-ridi, Mve-rodi).—The Nilotic section of the Belanda. (See *Belanda* and *Bviri.)*

BVIRI (Gamba, Gumba, Mbegumba, Mve-gumba).—This Sudanic section of the Belanda has mixed with the Bor and the two are now so closely interrelated that one cannot be considered without the other. In 1931 two small groups of Bviri lived along the old Yambio-Tonj road, between 28° and 29° N. and 5° and 6° W., between the Sueh and Iba Rivers, on the tributary known as the Nangbanguru (" lioness river" in Zande). Originally

these Bviri lived to the south of the Bor in the country around Tembura, and also across the Divide in what is now French Equatorial Africa. In the first half of the 19th century, under pressure from the Avungara, they moved north and many settled among the Bor who, however, after they had repulsed the Azande, began in turn to raid the Bviri. Some Bviri remained but others moved to the west and settled north of Dem Zubeir. Those who remained subsequently moved with the Bor to the south of the River Bussere and settled there under Zande rule, as being a lesser evil than domination by slavers; they are rapidly taking over Zande customs. A section of the Bviri, called the Amfungeri, is to be found between the Bussere and Pongo (Kpongo) Rivers.

DENDI.—These people, according to de Calonne-Beaufaict, were of Banda origin,[56] but they have been under the rule of the Mwana Pwobe lineage of the Abandiya ruling clan since 1800.[57] Van Bulck[58] counts Dendi as a Zande dialect, but Maes and Boone describe the Dendi as a Yakoma population.

DUGA.—The Duga are really a section of the Abarambo living for the most part in the basins of the Boere and Kipali Rivers, though some are also found in the basin of the Gada River. They are under Avungara chiefs.[59]

GOLO (See Part II, p. 100).—According to Tucker there are still Golo in Zande country under sub-chief Bakir, i.e., in the Sudan north of Wau.[60] Their

language belongs to the Banda group.

HUMA.—The Huma are a shy people living in the hills between the Sueh and Yiba Rivers, whither they fled from their home near Mount Bagenge under pressure from the Azande. Chief Tembura besieged them in their present habitat and eventually induced them to accept his rule. Some are to be found farther south in the valley of the Sueh River.[61] Their language is much the same as that of the Babuker (Buguru) with whom they live.[62] (See *Abuguru, Apambia,* and *Abarambo.)*

MABISANGA (Abasinga, Abisangba, Mabissanga). (See also *Mangbetu*.) — Properly they are a clan of the Meje, like the Mabiti and the Mando,[63] but they are often referred to as if they were the Meje, or a separate people. Hutereau[64] attributes this confusion to the Azande, who applied the name to all the Meje. Van den Plas says that after the death of King Munza they were conquered by the Azande and now speak that language.[65]

MUNDU (Mondou, Mondu, Moundo, Moundou).—There are now only remnants of what was formerly an important people; they are scattered over a long strip of country about 50 miles wide and 200 miles long, stretching on the west from Van Kerchovensville on the Obio River to a point inside the Sudan about 30° E. and 4° 55' N. Their neighbours are the Azande to the west; the Baka to the northwest, the Adio to the north-east; the Pojulu to the east; the Logo to the south-east, and the Mamvu to the south.

The Mundu of the Sudan now live among the Baka in Maridi and in a little colony to the north-west of Yei. The 1948 census for the Mundu of the Mongalla area of the Sudan estimates 1,920 taxpayers.[66] Those in the Congo are settled round Aba (approximately 2,000 speakers). Their language is closely related to Mayogo, Bangba, Ngbaka-Limba, and Ndogo-Sere. (See Part II, p. 97.)

Information about the Mundu is scanty and fragmentary.

Seligman[67] quotes the physical measurements recorded by Czekanowski as follows:

C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	Stature
77.5	82.0	84.3	53.6	1.65

Stigand[68] describes their colour as a "little darker than the Azande," and states that they are "supposed to be of the same stock as the Niapu and Abarambo."

Junker noted that they lived in huts, "which were grouped in small hamlets, visible on both sides of the road, in the tall herbage between bush and trees."[69]

Women used to insert quartz or horn plugs into their lips, like the Nyangbara and Moru women. Men were not, at the beginning of the century, circumcised. The usual bride-price at this time was 12 to 20 sheep or goats, returnable to the husband if the wife died on a visit to her father, but not if she died at her husband's homestead. After the birth of twins, Mundu used to make a feast "to keep the mother from witchcraft,"[70] although Gray writes that twins are "lucky." Mundu used recessed graves, like Azande. Gray describes the ritual used in a "blood purification ceremony." He also states that they have a clan organization, though clans are not associated with any particular totems or prohibitions.[71]

SERE (Basiri).—The Sere or Basiri speak a language of the Ndogo-Sere group (see Part II), but they have been influenced in language and culture by the Azande, particularly those (250 taxpayers) living on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road where it crosses the Pongo (Kpongo) River in the Sudan. The Congo Sere (3,000-4,000) live in the District of Ndoruma, "where they form a 'chefferie 'apart under Chief Gatanga."[72] There are large numbers near Zemio in French Equatorial Africa.[73]

(iii) PEOPLES SLIGHTLY INFLUENCED BY OR NEIGHBOURING THE AZANDE, BUT IN GENERAL POLITICALLY SEPARATE

BANDA.—There are two main groups of Banda, in the Sudan between Rivers Biri and Zaga, and in French Equatorial Africa. It is mainly the Banda of the Sudan border who have been "Zandeized." Tucker states that the Sudan Banda are offshoots of the immense collection of Banda in Dar Banda, French Equatorial Africa.[1] The Banda suffered heavily in the past from slave raids, which seem to have begun as long ago as the 17th century, and their once wealthy country has been ravaged by the passage of foreign expeditions. Hulstaert states that they are very scattered and that each group tends to have a different dialect.[2] (See Golo, Part II, p. 100.)

MAKERE.—Makere seems to be a generic name, accepted by the Meje and the clans Mabiti, Mando, and Mabisanga,[3] and perhaps by some other neighbouring peoples. Excluding the Meje, they occupy the basin of the Bima River. The Makere are bordered on the north by the Azande; on the east by the Meje; on the south by the Malele, Niapu, and Popoi; and to the west by the Ababua. Those in the north were conquered by Bakabgai and have since been ruled by Avungara chiefs.[4]

MAMVU (Momfou, Momvou, Momvu, Monfou, Mumvu).—Only some of the Mamvu are partly subject to Azande or Mangbetu; others, although they have been under constant pressure from both groups, have nevertheless maintained a separate identity and distinctive social organization. They live in the hilly region which is the collecting area for the Nepoko, Bomokandi, and Kibali Rivers.

MANGBELE (Bangbele, Mambelle, Mambellet, Manbere).—The Mangbele were originally an Ababua-Bantu people, but they are now

completely "Mangbetuized" and have forgotten their old language and customs.[5] Their principal settlements are on the upper Bomokandi, on the left bank of the Uele and between the Gurba and Bwere Rivers. Those who live near the river are under their own chiefs, but the remainder are ruled by Avungara or Mangbetu.

MANGBETU (Manbecto, Manbetto, Mangbattou, Mangbettou, Mangbitu, Mombattou, Monbouttou, Monbutto, Monbutu, Mongbutu).—The name Mangbetu[6] was originally that of the ruling clan of the Meje tribe (see below), but is now applied to all tribes who are or have been under Mangbetu domination or who speak related dialects. The Mangbetu are often confused with the Mangbutu (Mombutu), whose language is similar to that of the Mamvu.[7] Van Bulck[8] classifies Mangbetu under "Soudanais orientaux," in a "Medje-Ma Ngbetu" sub-group. Greenberg[9] places Mangbetu in his "Central Sudanic family," along with Bongo, Sara, Moru, Madi, etc.

The Mangbetu are just such another amalgam of peoples as the Azande, and under the general heading Mangbetu are included many peoples, who may be classified as follows:

(1) The Mangbetu clan who founded the Mangbetu empire and did for the peoples mentioned below what the Avungara did for the Azande.
(2) The clans who claim relationship with the Mabiti, Mando, and Mabisanga (Abisanga).[10] The Meje are partly included in this category, though they have become very much separated.
(3) The various "Mangbetuized" groups of different origins: Amadi, Abarambo, Abile, Bangba, Mabisanga, Mabudu, Makere, Mayogo, Meje, some Mamvu, Niapu, and Popoi. (See each under its own heading for location.)

The official language of all these peoples, whatever their origin, and whatever language they speak among themselves, is Mangbetu. Many now speak only Mangbetu and have forgotten their original language. This is not a recent phenomenon. Emin Pasha in November, 1883, wrote: "all the tribes just mentioned are so firmly cemented together by inter-marriage, inter-mixture, habits, customs, and even language that they not only acknowledge themselves to be subdivisions of one Monbuttoo people but feel themselves to be so… people who neither are Monbuttoo, and who do not appear to be

related to them, have acquired their habits; this must be borne in mind when examining the ethnology of the country."[11] Many of the divisions mentioned by Emin and other early travellers seem now to have disappeared.

Many of the people formerly subjugated and ruled by the Mangbetu, who live between the Uele and the Bomokandi Rivers, are now ruled by the Matshaga clan of the Abarambo, whose fortunes were established by Yanga[12] (Niangara), but they retain the Mangbetu language.

A great deal has been written about the Mangbetu, but in general it seems merely to emphasize their general likeness, except in language, to the Azande. The Mangbetu always seem to have surprised those who lived among them by their air of refinement and their superiority to their neighbours, though this difference is not defined. A modern study of these people is badly needed. Schweinfurth is still the most dependable authority, but he only stayed for five weeks at Munza's court, and did not speak the language.

De Calonne-Beaufaict, Hutereau, Van den Plas, and Czeckanowski discuss the origins of the Mangbetu, and have constructed hypothetical histories for them. The following section is based on Tucker's summary[13] of earlier information.

The Makere were formed out of a mixture of the original Mamvu inhabitants of the Uele area with some unspecified West African peoples. They suffered heavily from the successive Sudanic and Bantu invaders, and one section " plunged into the forest belt of the south, developed an aristocracy under Zande chiefs there, made contacts with the peoples of other cultures, and finally reappeared from the south under the name of Mangbetu." The Azande, who were then pushing south themselves, were checked by this new invasion. By the 18th century the Mangbetu were firmly established north and south of the Bomokandi River, where they built up a series of buffer states between themselves and the Azande. The Mamvu were driven to the south. The Mangbetu kingdom flourished until the death of Munza, whose court and government were described by Schweinfurth. In the chaos and the internecine wars which followed his murder by the slavers, the disintegration of Mangbetu political hegemony was rapid, and many of the Mangbetu themselves fled to the south. Those who remained as petty chiefs under the auspices of the slavers were, however, sufficient to maintain Mangbetu customs because of the prestige

that they conferred. Although their political powers were restricted by the slavers, the chiefs prospered financially from their own participation in the slave traffic. Today many of them derive considerable wealth from their large crops of upland cotton that their many wives cultivate for them.[14]

MEJE (Madge, Madja, Madje, Maedje, Maedia, Medge, Medje, Medji, Mege, Badjo, Niapu and *Popoi).*—These people occupy the land on both sides of the Nava River in the south and almost to the Poko River in the north. Some of the northern Meje are ruled by Avungara.

NZAKARA (Ansakara, N'sdkara, N'Zakara, Sakara, Sankarra, Zakara). — These seem to have been originally a Banda-speaking people. They are found both to the west and north of the Azande. Those of the Rafai area, and possibly others, have been ruled since the beginning of the 19th century by a lineage of the Abandiya[15] and they must all have been much influenced by the Azande.

(iv) NOTES ON OTHER NAMES RELATING TO ZANDE OR "ZANDEIZED" POPULATIONS

ABILE (Abele; see also *Ambili).*—Abile is not the name of any particular people, but a term used to cover all those Azande who live in the forest regions to the south of the Uele River. Owing to their long contact with other peoples they speak a distinct dialect of Zande, which is known by their name.[16] De Calonne-Beaufaict[17] includes in this designation the people of the same area whom he also refers to as Avuru Kipa, q.v.

ABODI is not used by any group of themselves but is applied by strangers to people living near the Uele River, in the area where *benge* is collected.[18]

AMBILI (Abwabili, Bwambili, Embili) would seem to be the same people as the Abile;[19] they are mostly "Zandeized."[20]

AMBWEGE is really only a nickname given to certain Azande of the Bomu River and chiefs of the Anunga lineage of the Avungara clan, because they use the enormous gourd *mbwege* for drinking-cups.[21]

AMOKUMA, according to de Calonne-Beaufaict,[22] are Avungara descended from Mange, son of Tombo, who rule both banks of the Uele

River, north of Titula and south of Api.

AMUKUMA.—Van den Plas[23] met a handful of these people in the Gundu Hills between Bambili and Dakwa and says that they were distinguished by a special form of tattooing.

ANUNGA are an Avungara lineage descended from Nunga, the third son of Mabenge;[24] they rule over the Azande of the Sudan and Ubangi Chari in French Equatorial Africa.

APODYO, an unimportant Avungara lineage,[25] ruling over the people to the north of Bili (25° 10' E., 4° 20' N.).

AURO, a term connoting:

(a) in the Sudan, those clans and people resident in the country before the arrival of the Ambomu invaders;

(b) the Avungara lineage descended from Nindu, son of Mabenge;[26]

(c) the territory and the people ruled by the Avungara lineage referred to in (*b*), between Bambili, Uere, and Api.

AVUNGARA (Avongara), the name of the ruling clan of the Azande.

AVURU KIPA (Abele: see also *Abile),* another name for the Abile, used by de Calonne-Beaufaict[27] who states that the name means "descendants of Kipa," son of Tombo. Lagae and Van den Plas[28] translate *avuru* by "gens de," "partisans de," a translation supported by de Calonne-Beaufaict's later narrative.

BAKANGO (Bacango: not to be confused with the Ba Kongo people who live on the south bank of the lower Congo, between Stanley Pool and Leopoldville, or the general term Bakongo used to include all the peoples of the old royal confederacy of San Salvador.).

This is a vague term used for those peoples who live along both banks, and on the islands, of the Uele River, between the Makwangu rapids in the west (22° 40' E., 3° 50' N.) and the Bangu rapids in the east (26° 30' E., 3° 45' N.). Apart from their common interest in the river, there would seem to be no good reason for considering them as a separate group rather than as sections of their larger neighbours, such as Azande, Ababua, etc.[29]

BAMBOI (Bamboy), a dialect of Zande spoken south of Yei River, which may have come under Mamvu influence.[30]

DONGA, according to Homburger,[31] another name for the Abarambo.

PATRI—Van Bulck[32] seems to consider Patri a dialect of Zande, distinct from Nzakara, but Tucker[33] quotes Delafosse[34] as follows: "The Patri, which are often classed with the Banda peoples, belong to the N'sakkra group. They have the same origin and speak the same language." (See above, *Nzakara* and *Dendi.)*

B. Peoples Ruled and Influenced by the Mangbetu

Some of the peoples enumerated above have been influenced by both Azande and Mangbetu, although in varying degrees. These are listed below in the Mangbetu classification, but the Zande classification must be consulted for further information about some of them.

ABARAMBO (see above, p. 30).

ABILE (see above, p. 38).

AMADI (see above, p. 31). One group, the Niapu, is completely "Mangbetuized." (See below.)

LOGO (see below, p. 113).

MABISANGA (see above, p. 34).

MAKERE (see above, p. 36).

MAMVU (see above, p. 36).

MANGBELE (see above, p. 36).

MEJE (see above, p. 38).

NIAPU (*.Niapou, Njapu, Nyapu*).—The Niapu are described by Van Bulck[1] as an Amadi section, " chez les Makere," speaking a Meje or Makere dialect. They have also been classified as a detached section of the Meje, living around Niapu to the south of the Bima River.

POPOI (*Ba-Poie, Bahaye, Mapopoe, Popoie, Popope, Popoy)*.—A group of indeterminate origin who have been incorporated into the Mangbetu.

Notes

1 We are grateful to Mile. Boone of the Musée du Congo Belge for information and advice in revising the classification in this section. [Ed.] See also Maes and Boone, *Les Peuplades du*

Congo Belge, 1935, vol. I, which was based on an examination of all reliable information for the Belgian Congo up to 1935. Other authorities are: Van den Plas, introduction to *La Langue des Azande,* 1921; Hutereau, "Histoire des peuplades de l'Uele et rUbangi," 1922; de Calonne-Beaufaict, *Azande,* 1921; Tucker, *Eastern Sudanic Languages,* 1940; Larken, "Zande Notes," 1923; Hulstaert, *Carte Linguistique du Congo Belge,* 1950.

2 Evans-Pritchard, 22, 1937, p. 200.

3 Capenny, 1899, p. 310.

4 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 81.

5 Hutereau, 1909, chap. III.

6 Van den Plas (2, 1921, p. 14) mentions the *"* Abaza Hutereau and de Calonne-Beaufaict use the name "Abandiya."

7 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 14.

8 1922, pp. 62-121, and 1921, pp. 81-90.

9 Van den Plas, 1925, p. 17.

10 Evans-Pritchard, 1933, p. 392.

11 See de Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., pp. 106-7, and Tucker, p. 31.

12 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 14.

13 Ibid., p. 22, and de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 99.

14 De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

15 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 17.

16 De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

17 Brock, 1918, pp. 249-50.

18 Capenny, 1899, p. 84.

19 Brock, op. cit., p. 249.

20 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (a).

21 Van den Plas, 1925, p. 17.

22 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 18.

23 Ibid.

24 p. 26.

25 Anderson, 1911, p. 239.

26 1921, p. 102.

27 Evans-Pritchard, 22, 1937, pp. 243-4.

28 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 17.

29 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 127.

30 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 16.

31 Evans-Pritchard, 21, 1937, p. 200.

32 Larken, 1923.

33 Santandrea, 3, 1946, pp. 81-2.

34 Brock, 1918, p. 259.

35 *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, p. 395.

36 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 17.

37 Anderson, 1911.

38 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 110-14

39 Hutereau, 1922, pp. 51-2.

40 Larken, 1923, p. 240.

41 Larken, 1926, p. 1.

42 Seligman, 1932, p. 500.

43 Hutereau, 1922, pp. 317-18.

44 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 18.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Tucker, op. cit., p. 20.

1 Larken, 1923.

2 Evans-Pritchard in Seligman, 1932, p. 460.

3 Maes and Boone, 1935.

4 Hutereau, 1922, p. 23.

5 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 96, and Capenny, 1899, p. 311.

6 *Emin Pasha in Central Africa,* 1888, pp. 197, 203, 441.

6A 1896, p. 107.

7 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 16.

8 De Calonne-Beaufaict, loc. cit.

9 Tucker, 1940, p. 27.

10 1946, vol. II, p. 248.

11 Ibid., p. 249.

12 Tucker, 1940, p. 17. Footnote 2.

13 Santandrea, 1946, pp. 81-2.

14 Confirmed by Tucker, loc. cit.

15 Unpublished MS.

16 Brock, 1918, p. 250.

17 Santandrea, 1946, p. 93.

18 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 117-20.

19 Hulstaert, 1950, p. 21.

20 Tucker, 1940, p. 27.

21 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 121.

22 Ibid., p. 125.

23 See also Hulstaert, 1950, p. 19.

24 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 19.

25 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 90; Hutereau, 1922, p. 157.

26 24, 1937, p. 425.

27 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 362.

28 Ibid., p. 470.

29 Evans-Pritchard, 1933, pp. 381-2.

30 Santandrea, 1946, pp. 78-80.

31 Unpublished MS. quoted by Santandrea.

32 Larken, 1926, pp. 1, 2.

33 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 16.

34 Larken, 1923, pp. 236-8.

35 MS. quoted by Santandrea, 1946, pp. 70-80. Fr. Giorgetti has also unpublished MSS. on the languages of the Pambia-Barambo and Huma-Babuker.

36 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 17.

37 See below, p. 104.

38 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 13, and Anderson, 1911, p. 240.

39 Tucker, 1940, p. 4.

40 Hulstaert, 1950, p. 19.

41 Tucker, op. cit., p. 22.

42 Ibid., p. 9.

43 Ibid., p. vii.

44 Tucker, op. cit., maps 5 & 6.

45 Evans-Pritchard, 23, 1937, p. 88.

46 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 133.

47 Tucker, op. cit., p. 41.

48 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 247.

49 Tucker, 1940, p. 31.

50 Ibid., pp. 15, 16, 26; Hutereau, 1922, p. 261.

51 Called “Mbegumba “and ‘‘ Mberidi” by Evans-Pritchard.

52 Evans-Pritchard, 13, 1931, pp. 17-18; Tucker, 1931.

53 Wheatley, 1923, pp. 251-3.

54 1 946, pp. 93-4; 1948, pp. 55-8.

55 *From the Congo to the Niger and Nile,* vol. II, p. 197; quoted by Santandrea, 1946, p. 93.

56 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 32, 39.

57 Ibid., p. 88.

58 Van Bulck, 1948, p. 213.

59 Hutereau, 1922, p. 24.

60 Tucker, 1940, p. 20.

61 Larken, 1923, p. 242.

62 Santandrea, 1946, pp. 81-2.

63 Vekens, 1928, p. 6.

64 Hutereau, 1922, p. 268.

65 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 21.

66 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (a).

67 1 932, p. 464, from *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet,* 1924.

68 1923, p. 62.

69 1890, p. 317.

70 Stigand, 1923, pp. 153, 157, 159.

71 Gray, in *A Tribal Survey of Mongolia Province,* ed. Nalder, 1937, p. 226.

72 Tucker, 1940, p. 15.

73 Evans-Pritchard, 13, 1931, p. 26.

1 Tucker, 1940, p. 52.

2 Hulstaert, 1950, p. 16, and map.

3 Vekens, 1928, p. 6.

4 Van den Plas, 1925, p. 26.

5 Vekens, loc. cit.

6 According to Schweinfurth (1875, p. 15) they were sometimes referred to as Gurrogurro.

7 *Handbook of African Languages,* vol. III (unpublished).

8 1948, pp. 196-9.

9 1949, p. 87.

10 Vekens (1928) describes the Mabisanga as a clan of the Meje.

11 *Emin Pasha in Central Africa,* 1888, pp. 196-7.

12 Vekens, 1928, p. 6.

13 1940, pp. 23-4 and 28-9.

14 Gatti, 1946, p. 34.

15 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 88.

16 See Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 37, and “Avuru Kipa Notes also a footnote by Colonel Bertrand on p. 254 of de Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit.

17 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 69-79.

18 Van den Plas, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

19 De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., p. 13.

20 Van den Plas, op. cit., p. 18.

21 Ibid., p. 37.

22 De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., p. 37.

23 Van den Plas, loc. cit.

24 De Calonne-Beaufaict, op. cit., p. 52, and Map I.

25 Ibid., p. 69.

26 Ibid., p. 52.

27 Ibid., p. 69.

28 *La Langue des Azande,* 1925.

29 See de la Kéthulle, *Bull*. *Soc. Roy. Belge Geog.,* XIX, 1895, p. 398, quoted by Maes and Boone, 1935, p. 72.

30 Van den Plas, 2, 1921, p. 31.

31 Homburger, 1941, p. 33.

32 Van Bulck, 1948, p. 213.

33 Tucker, 1940, p. 53.

34 Delafosse, “Essai sur le Peuple et la Langue sara.”

1 Van Bulck, 1948, p. 210. See also Tucker, 1940, p. 27.

IV.
Ecology[1]

Zandeland is intersected by innumerable streams and rivers which form part of the Nile and Congo systems. The frontier between the Sudan and the Belgian Congo can be taken as approximately the line of the watershed. The main tributary rivers of the Nile system are the Meridi and Sueh Rivers which flow eventually into the Bahr el Ghazal. The main affluents of the Congo system are the Mbomu River, which demarcates the frontier between French and Belgian administered Zandeland, and the Uele River which joins the Mbomu River, just to the west of Zandeland, to form the great Ubangi River.

The greater part of the country consists of gently undulating hills which rise in gradient the nearer they are to the watershed, though they never become really steep. The Azande of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and French Equatorial Africa lie within the savannah forest vegetation belt. In the rainy season the lightly wooded parkland country is covered with monster grasses 10 to 12 ft. high which obscure the vision and are so thick that travelling away from the paths is a most laborious process. Sometime during the dry season, which lasts from November until mid-April, the grass is fired, revealing rolling hills and a landscape dotted with the pink trunks of the *degbe* tree and the gnarled black *kaow.* Scattered here and there among the trees and the straggles of brushwood are occasional giant forest trees, termite mounds, and prickly round bushes. The only continuous features are the streams which run down the slopes and are covered from the sun by the tall thick trees which cluster along their banks. The Azande prefer to live along the banks of permanent streams and rivers in the shade of the trees, so that they are both near to water, and yet rather isolated. So numerous are

these streams that a Zande estimates the time and distance of short journeys by the number of streams crossed.[2]

The Azande of the Belgian Congo lie on the outer edge of the tropical rain-forest belt, which becomes denser as the country grows warmer and wetter and nearer the Equator, and where the trees that line the streams grow so tall and so thick that the light hardly penetrates. These heavily wooded water-courses are a feature of southern Zandeland, and are known as " galleries."[3] The lower Congo plains are always humid and there are many marshes, bogged, in the rainy season, with pools of stagnant water, and only relieved by earth mounds tufted with short grass. In the dry season the marshes become hard and the earth cracks, while streams diminish into a series of muddy pools.

Throughout the country there are scattered outcrops of iron-stone or granite, either exposed or obscured by low grass. There appears to be little detailed information on the type of soil in the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa; it is fertile and, as Schweinfurth remarks on the uniformity of the soil throughout Zandeland,[4] it is reasonable to suppose that it is similar to that of the Sudan. Ironstone calena is predominant in the Sudan, except in the Meridi District, where red loam type predominates. The richer soils which maintain the densest population are to the south-west of Yambio and south-west of Meridi.

On the whole, the natural environment of the Azande presents no violent contrasts, and though it changes gradually from savannah to tropical rain forests, the inhabitants of both areas can follow a similar way of life.

MODE OF LIFE

Zandeland is infested with trypanosomes and cattle cannot now be kept, but, unlike their northern neighbours the Nilotic Dinka, or even such neighbouring people as the Madi, who have a similar environment, the Azande have no memory of ever having kept cattle. On the other hand, Azande are good agriculturists, and to possess good gardens—with their essential corollary, a hard-working wife—is the principal objective of every male Zande.[5] The most exalted Avungara supervise the field work

performed by their wives, slaves, or bands of young men; even the great Mangbetu king, Munza, personally supervised, and at times actually distributed with his own hands, the grain from his stores, though Avungara perform no manual tasks.

The Azande are fortunate in that they occupy an area in which there is plenty of productive and easily worked land. Virgin land is theoretically at the chief's disposal, but any of his subjects who wish to cultivate it may do so, and they and their descendants can continue to use it as long as they are inclined, whether in cultivation or lying fallow. The laterite soils are called "exceedingly fertile" by Larken, and they yield a large range of cultivated and wild food crops, though more recent reports assert that the fertility is quickly exhausted by regular cultivation.

The fringe area of Azande expansion to the east of Tembura is the least fertile, and there the population is sparse. There are extensive wildernesses on the ironstone plateau which, because of their poor soil and lack of surface water, support no population.[6] In the northern part of the Nile-Congo watershed there are large tracts of excellent land now uninhabited[7] which, according to Schweinfurth,[8] in pre-slaving days supported a considerable population, but having been emptied, remain so, primarily because of their remoteness.

The rainfall is fairly constant from year to year, averaging 55 ins., but sometimes reaching 70 ins.,[9] most of which falls between April and mid-November. The majority of the streams, though not permanently in flow, do not dry up so completely that water cannot be found by digging in their beds. All crops are rain grown, not irrigated.

THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agricultural year provides the framework for the Zande time scheme and is determined by the division into the wet and the dry seasons. The dry season begins in November and lasts until April.

De Calonne-Beaufaict states that they also reckon by lunar months and he gives a table of the 13 moons with their names and calendar equivalents,[10] though, from his account, they seem to be little more than

abstractions, imposed by the constant changes of the moon but expressed in terms of agricultural events, and they do not dominate Zande thought.[11]

Nevertheless, the moon may influence the Zande in his other pursuits and, like the stars, the lightning, and the rainbow, the moon is classified as an animal, but is distinguished from the others in that he is flanked by two female stars, who are his wives. When he appears in the west, crescent-shaped and thin, it is because his wife in that quarter neglects him, but as his eastern wife on the contrary does all she can to fatten him he moves towards her. Then like a snake he casts his skin and reappears as the new moon again. The Azande credit the moon with dangerous powers and therefore, when it is full, they keep out of its beams as much as they can; they also seek to placate it by dancing to it and abstaining from all unnecessary work. Azande will not usually start any important new undertaking when the moon is waning.[12]

There are accounts of Zande crops and agricultural methods for the Uele River area by de Calonne-Beaufaict,[13] and for the Sudan by Larken[14] and Culwick.[15]

The Azande do not keep to a rigid agricultural calendar, but plant and gather according to the actual climatic conditions. A large range of crops is cultivated, and agricultural labour is needed for most of the year, except during the last part of the dry season. Cultivation is shifting and, because there is no system of manuring or fertilizing, the land is usually exhausted after two or three crops, when it is allowed to return to bush and restore itself, which takes six or seven years. Within the limits of this method a simple system of rotation of crops is practised, beans or peas being followed by eleusine, and eleusine by sesame.[16] This system is quite satisfactory for Zande needs and even satisfies the demands of the Department of Agriculture, at any rate for the present.[17]

Each wife has her own gardens, the husband assisting each in turn with the rough work. Wives usually, but not necessarily, help each other.

Not all Azande follow the same cropping schedule, though an overall pattern is imposed by common requirements; for instance eleusine grain is generally needed for *bakinde* porridge and beer. In the south, among the Mangbetu, Abarambo, and Mamvu “le manioc est la pomme de terre du peuple”[18] and replaces eleusine as the staple food. Individual cultivators may vary their times of sowing, planting, or reaping within as much as a

month, the reasons being natural dilatoriness, or the belief that a particular month is fortunate or, sometimes, the advice of the oracles. This results in spreading the crop risk and minimizing the effects of excessive rain or drought on the total harvest.

The agricultural year proper may be considered as starting towards the end of March,[19] when the last year's crop of eleusine is generally exhausted. At this time a little early maize is sown near the stream beds in the shade of the trees, where it is hoped that the moisture held in the ground will start it sprouting at once, so that it will have begun to grow before the rains come. Some fresh ground requires clearing each year, and this is usually started in April when the first rains soften the earth. Gourds and pumpkins are sown as soon as the ground is soft and are followed by the main maize crop, peanuts, and early beans. Eleusine and sesames follow them in the ground, by which time the early maize shoots should be ready, and also the principal sorghum crop. Sorghum yields crops for two successive years; the first season it yields only a light crop, but the plants are left in the ground throughout the dry season, and then bear the main crop (*rali*). It is not an important Zande crop. The early maize[20] is generally eaten as picked, but the main crops, the sorghum and the eleusine, are stored. By the middle of the rains it is time to sow the second eleusine crop and the ground-nuts; a type of bean called *abaundu,* which grows under ground, is ready for lifting.

Two varieties of lupin known as *abapu* and *abakpa* follow; these are not harvested and stored, but are left standing and picked as required. The sweet potatoes, which should also be ready, are left in the ground until needed. By July the pumpkins and white gourds (*kpagu*), which contain oil seeds, are ripe and also the climbing yam *(mere)* which Larken says' tastes like "sodden potatoes."

In August and September there may be a few idle weeks waiting for the first eleusine crop, which in Larken's time was still laboriously cut with a *digi*—a strip of iron about half an inch wide worn as a ring on the first joint of the thumb—each stem having to be half snapped, half cut off. At the end of the rains the sesames *(sere* and *ndekd)* are gathered, dried, and threshed. In November small cucumbers *(koforo)* are sown and left to ripen in the dry weather, when they are eaten as a relish. Many sorts of relish, such as red pepper, are grown according to individual tastes.

Cassava *(gbanda)* is in season all the year round, and will grow at any time in the rainy season from a shoot stuck in a mound of earth. The roots become too stringy to eat after four or five years. This plant, regarded as dull fare by the Azande, is one of their principal standbys in times of dearth; but it is so easy to cultivate that it is replacing eleusine as the main crop and has "overstepped its legitimate function in the food economy."[21] Bananas are also cultivated very heavily in the south, where "c'est le pain des Mangbetus."[22]

FOOD PRODUCTION AND DIET

The Azande rely on wild as well as cultivated crops. Termites are an important addition to a diet in which fat is deficient, and many millions are collected during the rainy season, particularly before the early storms. They are eaten either raw or fried, or are rendered down for their oil. The Azande consider termites as a crop, and as such the property of the homestead in whose area the mound lies; to disturb a mound in the homestead of another person is tantamount to theft. Within the last 20 to 30 years the mango tree has been introduced from the Congo and has spread rapidly all over Zandeland, providing a wholesome addition to the diet. Lelong comments on the ubiquity of the mango in the Congo. The Azande are fond of most leafy vegetables, which they cook well. Wild seed-bearing grasses, fruits, and roots of various sorts are sought after, particularly when the granaries are empty of eleusine and the first maize is not yet ready. Edible fungus is a popular dish, homesteads having their particular mushroom *(loto)* beds in the neighbouring bush; the crescent-shaped fungus, *osiranda,* which grows on trees, is also eaten. Certain species of caterpillars are a luxury; land crabs, frogs, snails—in fact most living things, except giraffes, totemic animals, and certain snakes such as the puff adder and python—may be eaten. Geophagy is not common, but earth from termite mounds and river beds is sometimes eaten. Chickens are eaten after they have served their time at the oracle, but this is infrequent and there are never more than a few chickens in each homestead because they are prone to devastating epidemics. The eggs are saved for hatching.[23]

Azande suffer from an acute meat shortage and all observers have commented on their passion for it. Schweinfurth suggested this deficiency as a reason for their former cannibalism. The Azande now profess to despise cannibalism, but Lelong suggests that it is still practised in remote parts by the Mangbetu, and by the Abarambo who were the most notorious cannibals of the group. The Azande attempt to satisfy their pangs by hunting. In the dry season they bum the grass and pursue rats and mice and small game and also organize *battues,* during which large game is netted and speared. The use of ring fires as a means of destroying game is now forbidden by the Government because of its cruelty. Most game in the Sudan has by now been destroyed for meat,[24] but game is more plentiful in the Congo, and the Mangbetu and Abarambo particularly are renowned hunters, especially of the elephant. In a private hunt the game is the property of the man who first struck it, though the neck or head goes to the owner of the dog who first raised it, and part is sent to the chief. In a communal hunt all game is considered to be the property of the chief, who distributes it among the hunters and their dependants.[25] The Sudan Government has imposed a close season from October to May in order to preserve young game; this is bitterly resented by the Azande, for at this period the shortage of meat is most acute. The seasonal streams are only lightly stocked with fish, which "contributes little to the food supply."[26] Where there are fish the women either trap them at fish barriers, or, when the fish are stranded in pools, they use the general Central African method of throwing pounded leaves into the water and collecting the fish when they float stupefied to the surface.[27]

Natural salt is unknown, but the Azande have an ingenious, if laborious, method of obtaining it by burning the pods of *afzelia africana*[28] or banana stems, and placing the ashes in an open-weave basket, through which water is dripped, collected, and evaporated, leaving a potash deposit.

The Azande brew a beer from eleusine.[29]

The Azande appear to thrive on their diet and, except for the very old or very young, are able to endure a year of scarcity. There are indications, however, that, like most African peoples, they are less healthy than they appear to be, and it is estimated that at least 60% of the able-bodied men are suffering from remediable internal afflictions such as hookworm and bilharzia.[30] Mrs. Culwick, who recently carried out a dietetic survey for the

Sudan Government, concluded that though the Azande are "better off than their neighbours in respect of quantity and variety throughout the year," nevertheless their diet is "geared to a slow rate of living with a low output of energy," the protein and carbo-hydrate intake, in particular, being too low for safety.[31] As with so many other African peoples the period of marked stress is in April-May, the beginning of the wet season, when there is the hardest work to do and food supplies are at their lowest. Dr. Abbot's clinical survey showed that signs commonly ascribed to nutritional ill-health are exceedingly prevalent among the Azande.[32]

THE HOMESTEAD

The Azande live, when they can, in family groups in homesteads (*kpolo*) scattered over the country, preferably near the banks of a stream. They prefer living in distinct family groups, separated from each other by strips of bush, because of their fear of witchcraft and sorcery and, it is said, so that they may keep their wives away from potential lovers.[33] The homestead is shifted after the death of an occupant, or if a run of serious misfortunes makes permanent village residence impossible. Seligman[34] suggests that the distribution of homesteads is also " partly an adaptation to economic needs," for, as each plot of land is often worked for only two years, a considerable garden area is required. Within its own area the homestead has the right to the swarms from its termite mounds and to edible fungus from its own beds, while the surrounding bush is a hunting reserve for the small game and rodents which add an occasional meat relish to the mainly vegetable diet. The homesteads, though separated, are not isolated, usually standing between 100 and 300 yds. apart and connected, by a series of winding tracks, with each other and with the homestead of the chief or his deputy.

Socially and economically the homestead is the basic unit of Zande society. A Zande has an immense network of social relationships and contacts outside the homestead and, of course, in times of distress or crop failure any Zande can fall back on his kin; but essentially each homestead is self-supporting and economically independent of all others. There is no

system of joint land-holding, nor any organized system of joint labour, though help for heavy tasks may be sought within kinship and neighbourhood groups.

The Azande build two different types of homestead—the straggling and the oval or circular; both are self-contained and almost entirely self-supporting units, and are essentially the same, the circular being neater and a formalization of the dwelling pattern. The homestead consists basically of a man, his wife, and children. To this may be added some miscellaneous dependants drawn from the following categories: unmarried brothers or sisters, aged relatives, recently married sons not yet established in their own homesteads, daughters who have run away from or been divorced by their husbands, and any relatives or friends temporarily unattached. A Zande is pleased to assume responsibility for dependants, for the size of his homestead is a visible index of his social importance.

Each wife and dependant, except the young children who sleep with their mothers, has a separate hut. The huts are thatched and have puddled clay walls and beaten earth floors; in some the roof extends beyond the walls to form a shady resting place. The granary of each wife stands behind her hut and is raised from the ground on piles; it has a roof rather like a lid that can be propped open on one side so that the owner may climb in to fill or empty it.

Chicken-pens are built against the walls of the hut, either on ground level, rather like dog kennels, or raised from the ground on a post like a dovecote. In the circular type of homestead the huts are built round a well-swept earth yard *(vuru kpolo)* in the centre of which stands the ghost shrine or *tuka.* This shrine, to the outward eye, consists merely of an earth mound in which has been inserted upright a large branching or forked stick. The mound may be bare, or may have medicinal or magic plants growing upon it. The whole homestead is surrounded by the permanent gardens of the occupants.[35]

DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Women perform most of the routine agricultural work—hoeing, planting, and reaping—as well as the usual domestic tasks of grinding the grain into

flour, stirring the *bakinde* and brewing the beer. The other miscellaneous jobs that African housekeeping entails are also theirs: collecting wild fruits and roots, fishing, salt-extracting, fetching water, and collecting firing.

A man is kept very busy doing the heavier agricultural work. Larken suggests, as a guide to what is man's work, all jobs which require the use of an axe. This includes the clearing of the virgin ground which has to be brought into cultivation every year owing to the practice of shifting agriculture. The men are also responsible for erecting huts and granaries—a constant task, since most homesteads move every two or three years because of death or land exhaustion. A husband also has public duties, such as attendance at court. In the past he would have been liable for war service; today he may still have to labour for his chief. Formerly a husband had to hunt, in order to provide meat to supplement the vegetable and cereal diet and, in those parts of the country where there is any game left, he still does so. Nowadays a husband will help tend the cash crops.[36]

The division into man's work and woman's work reflects the structural inferiority of women in traditional Zande society,[37] an inferiority as rigid as that of youth to age, though both these conceptions are now changing. Women were formerly looked on simply "as child-bearers and servants." All the legal sanctions of the society were biased to support the male. Indeed, missionaries and administrators were shocked by the complete powers exercised by fathers and husbands over their women-folk, and by the treatment to which these were sometimes subjected. The formal expression of women's rights has changed little, according to Mrs. Culwick's account of the present situation, but there has been a bias in its application which favours the women: * 'Each woman has her own fields and the produce is called hers "; she can sell the surplus if she likes, and the husband cannot call upon it to provide beer. For that purpose plots are set aside, "called the husband's, which the wives help him to cultivate, but the produce of which is separately stored as his, to be drawn by him for sale, for meeting social obligations, or as a reserve."

Men are still recognized as having the first right to food, and it is bad manners for women to eat with men, or until they have finished.[38]

Children are set to perform useful tasks as soon as they are old enough, though, except for the older girls, work is combined with play, is often performed in company, and is not tedious. The child, suckled and petted

until it is three or four,[39] is then trained to help with little household chores and encouraged to be a help rather than an encumbrance to its mother. Between six and seven a boy will gradually leave his mother's protection and come under the tutelage of his father, carrying his stool and pipe when he pays visits, accompanying him to the fields, to hunting expeditions, and even to court. By the time he is 10 or 11 years old a boy is expected to be a real help to his father; a girl at the same age is already expected to be shaping into a competent housewife. If she shows vigour and culinary skill she will be considered ready for betrothal, though girls are not usually married until they are 17 or 18.[40] A boy will stay at home assisting his father until he himself contemplates marriage, when he may depart to work for his future father-in-law. Nowadays he will probably spend some time in European employment as a government labourer. He may serve for a time as a page at court or in the band of young men who do duty as bodyguard and field labour force for the chief.

Notes

1 There are several descriptions of various parts of Zandeland which, for such a large area, seem to be fairly uniform. For a complete description of the country Schweinfurth's accounts are particularly valuable.

2 Larken, 1927, p. 88. Long journeys are reckoned by nights.

3 There is an excellent sketch of a "schematic cross-section of a fluvial avenue," as the galleries are called, by Junker (vol. II, p. 115) and an ordinary sketch map (p. 125). Schweinfurth (1873, vol. I, pp. 504-8) gives an admirable explanation of their formation and calls them "unbounded storehouses of creature wealth."

4 1873, vol. II, p. 4.

5 Culwick (1950) reports general lack of interest in a cultivator's life, the young preferring the life of a wage-labourer—a shift in Zande values due to European domination.

6 Tot hill (ed.), 1948, pp. 88-9.

7 Ibid., pp. 89 if.

8 1873, vol. II.

9 Wyld, 1949, p. 48.

10 1921, pp. 207-8.

11 Lelong (1946, vol. I, p. 68) records the same attitude among the Mangbetu.

12 Convents, 1940, p. 126, on which this paragraph is based; see also Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 137.

13 1921, pp. 207-16.

14 1927, pp. 121-4.

15 1950.

16 Mrs. Culwick quotes another cropping scheme, which sounds more likely, from McCall, "A note on the Agriculture of the Sudan," an unpublished MS. which we have been unable to see; this is based more firmly on eleusine, which is sown in the second year as well if the ground is good enough—and even perhaps a third.

17 Ferguson, 1949, p. 109.

18 Lelong, 1946, vol. I, p. 99.

19 This description is a summary of the excellent account by Larken, 3, 1927, pp. 111-23, correlated with Lagae and de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 207—16, and Mrs. Culwick's *Dietary Survey.* (Times vary by as much as two months from the north to the south of Zandeland.)

20 The proportion of maize to eleusine increases with proximity to the Uele River.

21 Culwick, 1950, Appendix II.

22 Lelong, 1946, vol. II, pp. 96-100.

23 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 16.

24 Wyld, 1949, p. 50.

25 Hutereau, 1909, p. 35. Cf. chap. IV and the discussion of "the second spear."

26 Evans-Pritchard, 4, 1929.

27 See Bloss, 1945, p. 275; also Brock, 1918, p. 257; Massey, 1919, p. 147. There are some excellent photographs of Zande fishing methods in Tothill (ed.), 1948, p. 116, and accompanying Bloss's article.

28 De Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 210.

29 Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 13.

30 Lorenzen, 1948, p. 269.

31 Culwick, 1950, paras. 1-6.

32 Ibid., p. 10.

33 Larken, 1926, p. 9.

34 1932, p. 499.

36 See sketch in Seligman, 1932, after Evans-Pritchard.

36 Culwick, 1950, para. 81, "other tasks may be shared."

37 Certain Avungara daughters enjoyed a moderate degree of freedom.

38 Culwick, 1950, para. 194. There is an interesting contrast here with the Mangbetu. All the early visitors to Zandeland commented on the "modest and retiring "Zande women, and applauded the respect which they showed to their husbands, and their comparative conjugal fidelity. Mangbetu women, on the contrary, were "immodest," and even "openly obscene "and largely unrestrained by their menfolk. "The two sexes conduct themselves towards each other with an excessive freedom.…" "Towards their husbands they exhibit the greatest degree of independence." (Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 91.)

39 Culwick, 1950, para. 207; Brock, 1918, p. 251.

40 Larken (1926, p. 13) states that girls are not usually fertile until they are 23 or 25 years old, and this is substantiated by Leitch (personal communication).

V.
The Formal Political Structure of Zande Society

The Zande homestead is also the primary political unit. Evans-Pritchard's map, in Seligman's *Pagan Tribes* (p. 498), shows the distribution of Zande homesteads and the system of tracks which join them and converge into main paths leading to the homestead of the chief's deputy, and thence to the chief's court and eventually to the king's court. Such a map is also a diagram of Zande political structure.

THE POLITICAL AUTHORITY OF THE AVUNGARA

Zande political authority is pyramidal in organization; political status depends primarily on birth, while economic and social status depend largely on political status. The dominant principle is always the absolute authority of the hereditary Avungara ruling clan.

A Zande king or independent chief must be a Vungara. Each kingdom[1] used to be territorially distinct and separated from its neighbours by expanses of uninhabited and generally barren marsh lands;[2] now, since there is no warfare, this is not so. A kingdom was autonomous and was governed from the centre; formerly each had its own military organization for attack and defence and was the largest unit within which organized legal sanctions were recognized. Having been created arbitrarily by military force, however, there was not always a common language, though that of the Ambomu conquerors was always the official language, tending to become general.

Avungara superiority, though justified by a myth, was maintained by political and administrative organization—not by ritual sanctions as many African kingships are.

A kingdom was divided up into provinces, each governed by a chief, who was usually a younger brother or son of the king. Faithful followers such as generals or, occasionally, a conquered chief, might be appointed to these positions, but they did not thereby become Avungara. Every chief had to be personally installed in his office by the king, but there was no ceremony, merely formal approval.[3]

Sometimes,[4] if his kingdom became very large, a king would divide it during his lifetime between two or three of his sons or brothers, who, while remaining subject to their father, would have absolute authority over their own chiefs. Or the sons themselves might become independent or have such large chiefdoms that they had to appoint sub-chiefs of their own in order to administer their domains effectively. Such a chiefdom was, in fact, a separate kingdom, and only nominal allegiance was owed to the king. Azande did not think of states as having a permanence apart from their rulers; they thought rather in terms of a particular number of people living in a particular area and owing personal allegiance to a particular Vungara; and of individuals as subjects of a king, rather than members of a group. Such a relationship existed between Bazingbi and his son, Wando, each of whom, for all effective purposes, had a separate kingdom, although Wando gave nominal allegiance to his father.[5]

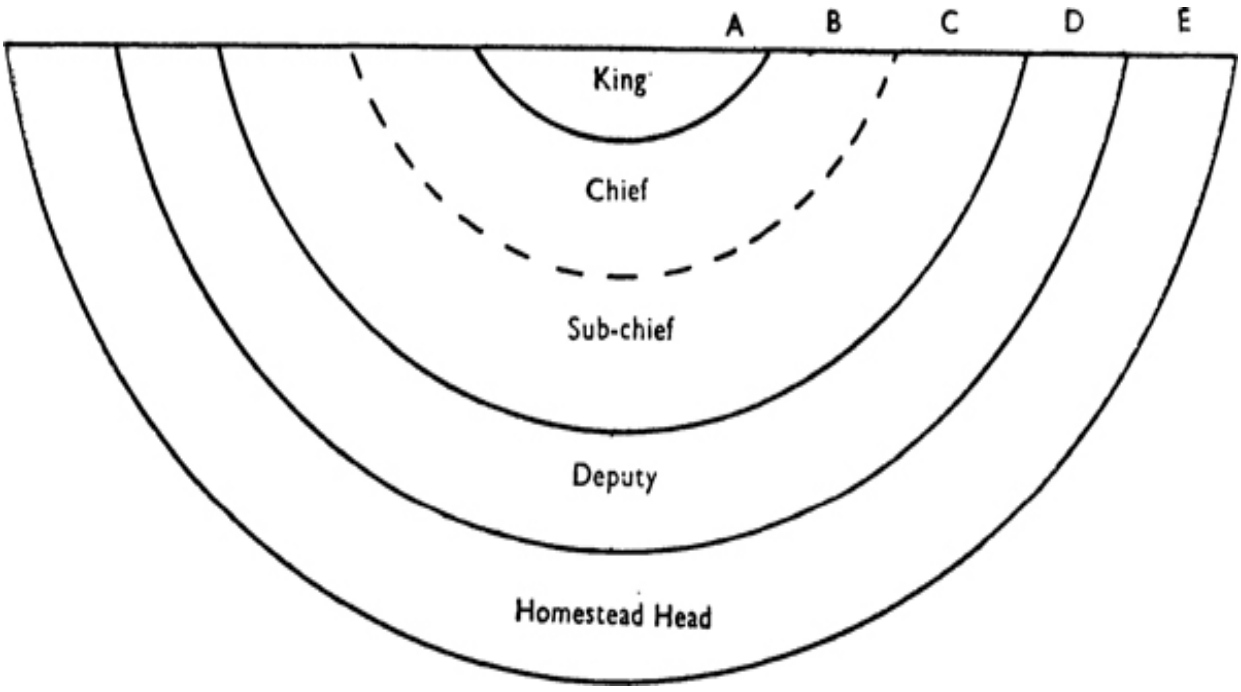
The pattern of authority between king and chief in a large kingdom was not strictly formalized; the size of a chiefdom was limited by the criterion of administrative efficiency and it was possible for one or more intermediate authorities to exist between a chief and his king. A commoner holding one of these intermediate positions, however high he might rise, could very seldom achieve a higher position in the political hierarchy than the lowest Avungara. There is only one recorded exception to this rule.[6]

Within his own territory, a chief was to a large extent independent and free of central control unless the king were very strong. When they were at court, however, chiefs had to simulate complete subordination and to show the same respect before the king that commoners showed before all Avungara; thus they must only approach him in a crouching position. Chiefs expected the same respect from their own sons at their own courts. Seligman[7] points out that there was usually latent hostility between chiefs and their sons,

because they were potential rivals, and that a king was often much more familiar with his "commoner followers, who could never usurp his position,"

The structure of political authority may be represented in what has come to be the conventional diagram. The dotted line B between chiefs and sub-chiefs shows that this division of chiefly functions may or may not be made- Sub-chiefs of course cannot exist without chiefs above them, while kings are not now found, at any rate within the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In these circumstances the chief takes the place of the king and has his own minor chiefs radiating from him. Avungara are no longer being reduced in number by wars of succession and, moreover, owing to the cessation of campaigning and the diminishing power of the chief, it is becoming more difficult for commoners to distinguish themselves; all the sub-chiefs, therefore, within the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan are Avungara.[8]

Avungara cannot go below line C, or commoners above line B, under any circumstances, nor can a commoner rise higher than the lowest Avungara. It is not normal to find a commoner as high as C.



In the old days, under a king who was very strong, there was a constant tendency for Avungara chiefs to throw off their allegiance, particularly at succession times, and found kingdoms of their own by conquering their neighbours. This process of fission with addition was the method by which

the Zande Empire was enlarged. The king's eldest son was his legal successor provided he was certainly legitimate and had been nominated by his father before his death. The designate would, in the normal course of events, already be a chief with a province and warriors of his own, but usually he would have brothers in the same position, and succession wars were a regular occurrence in Zande political life. These interregnums lasted until one claimant had established himself by slaying his rivals, or driving them out to find fresh kingdoms of their own elsewhere, or until, owing to mutual exhaustion, there was tacit agreement to split the kingdom. Each party would then look to extend his territory at the expense of his other neighbours. Possession of the field and a simple declaration were sufficient to establish sovereignty, though customarily there were appropriate celebrations and dancing. Wars of this sort helped to cement the feudal type of society which the Avungara had established. In such times all commoners and minor chiefs required an overlord to protect them and accept their service.

CHIEFS

Rulers of provinces are usually called princes, but this is not a precise term, because not every Vungara had a province, and some provincial governors were commoners. The terms "chief" and "chiefdom" are more appropriate.

The Mangbetu organization was almost identical, but their prerogatives, according to Schweinfurth,[9] were even greater.

The political position was never stable, and every chiefdom was a kingdom in embryo. For instance, King Bazingbi's[10] "empire" was split between his four sons, one of whom was Gbudwe (M'bio), the last king in the Sudan area. Gbudwe extended his inheritance and had as subordinate chiefs at least five sons[11] and more than one commoner,[12] so that he can be classified as a king. Nowadays no single overlord is recognized by his successors, for under European occupation no one of them is allowed to exercise military supremacy.

In several of the accounts it is not clear whether the ruler referred to should be classified as a king or a chief: on many occasions—for instance,

when courts are described—the distinction is unimportant. Each king had a home chiefdom, as it were, personally administered by himself, in addition to those ruled by the chiefs who owed allegiance to him.

The boundaries between chiefdoms are usually marked by streams or other natural features; the importance of a chief is estimated by the number of his subjects, not by the area he happens to govern. An idea of the size and composition of chiefdoms can be gathered from J. E. T. Phillips,[13] who states that when the Tembura District of Bahr el Ghazal (now Equatoria) Province was put under European administration, there were six well-established chiefdoms with a total population of 65,000, few of whom were Azande proper, and seven separate languages were spoken in the area. Schweinfurth[14] states that there were 35 independent chiefs within the 48,000 square miles visited by Khartoum merchants, very few of whom deserved the title of king.

DEPUTIES

Chiefs were, and still largely are, absolute masters within their provinces, which they administer through deputies directly responsible to them. Deputies are never Avungara but always commoners, usually distinguished for their combination of seniority, wealth, and influence, who, having established their own homesteads at a convenient point along the banks of a stream, have attracted relatives and unattached persons to settle near them. By making himself head of such a group of neighbours, a Zande asserts his claim to be recognized by his chief as a deputy. Only such established persons are considered by the chiefs, who do not normally appoint a nominee of their own as head of a group already formed round some other prominent person. A deputy is put forward by the group of commoners who shelter beneath him, and he serves as intermediary between them and the chief. As power is most easily derived through the chief's favour, there is a constant succession of court-trained, favoured, and trusted Azande who become "deputies" and buttress the power of the Avungara.

The deputy is in an ambivalent position, having to retain the favour of his chief without alienating his own people. His position is, however, strengthened by the social cohesion of the group of neighbours of which he

is head, which is united not only by residential ties but also by bonds of kinship and marriage. Through the deputy the rigid demands of political obedience are transformed into a series of day-to-day kinship obligations, and political uniformity is reconciled with social distinctiveness.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS

Ambomu and Auro

The sharp distinction in status between Avungara and commoners dominates Zande life, but there is an additional distinction, which is also important, between the Ambomu conquerors, who accompanied the Avungara, and the conquered peoples known generally as *auro* or strangers.[15] This is not a formalized distinction, like that which elevates the Avungara. The Ambomu are not shown particular deference on account of their origin, but are distinguished by their greater wealth and the fact that they are close to the chief at court, and the most prominent deputies. As new provinces were annexed it was the policy of the king to send out a chief as governor, with a nucleus of Azande to form his court group and deputies.

Although the conquered peoples were rapidly "Zandeized," the Ambomu clans remained a separate social, though not an ethnic, group. *Auro* refers to the great mass of provincials who are not sophisticated enough for court life, which, for an intelligent Zande, is the only desirable one.

Slavery

Before European occupation there was a system of domestic slavery, though our information about the social status of slaves is a little vague. Lagae[16] states that the following classes of people might become slaves: prisoners of war, both male and female; persons who had fled from neighbouring chiefdoms and could not claim blood-brotherhood with a member of the receiving chiefdom; persons who had committed a grave delict against their chief or clan and who were reprieved from death; and

sometimes the near kin of a criminal, such as one who had committed adultery with a chief's wife.[17] Women paid to a chief as damages also fell within this category. Any sons that a slave wife had by a chief were considered as Avungara, and might succeed to a chief dom, though their chances were not so great as those of the sons of regularly acquired wives.[18]

Slaves lived in the homestead as ordinary members of it, though the harder and rougher jobs would be theirs and they would be expected to do work that an ordinary male Zande would despise. Generally they seem to have been kindly treated.

Men slaves might be freed by their owners with the chief's permission, and women on marriage automatically ceased to be regarded as slaves. All the children of slaves were free, and were regarded as the sons of whoever had paid their bridewealth.[19] Socially they were not adopted into the clan of their masters, though the master, as he received a woman's bridewealth when she married, or supplied the bridewealth for a male slave, did stand very much in the position of father. Lagae suggests that the institution of slavery was a legal device for maintaining order within a chiefdom, by punishing individuals and groups of individuals in a manner which allowed for their full re-integration into the society within a generation.

It was also a mechanism used to absorb foreigners, such as war captives, into the society, by attaching them to already established groups and affiliating them into the customary kinship system. Women were more readily absorbed than men, because their status in society was so much inferior, and they were always bound to be dependent and without political influence. During periods of local misfortune, however, their social insecurity was apparent, for, as strangers without the backing of kin, they would be more readily suspected of witchcraft and evil intentions, and have their names presented to the oracle. Slaves who were kinless died unmourned.

Chiefs kept bands of slaves who assisted their wives with their gardens, and also were often recruited into the chief's guard.

Status of Women

The social status of women is always low; they cannot succeed to a chiefdom, and all succession and inheritance is patrilineal; indeed, the

inferiority of women is a primary value of Zande society. (See p. 46.)

Commoners

Zande commoners, except those few directly concerned with the affairs of the court, take very little interest in political matters, in which in any case they can play no effective part. They have no concern with political intrigue, their duty only requiring them to support their chief to whom they are personally bound.

Avungara

To Avungara politics and intrigue are the very spice of life. Descent is important to them for on it depends the legitimacy of their claim to rule, and they are much occupied with questions of lineage and interrelationship, some even employing court historians, or elders, whose job it is to memorize their genealogical tables and succession rights.

Commoner Azande soon forget their own descent and do not bother to go back farther than their great-grandfathers:[20] yet they remember the genealogies and myths which confirm the legitimacy of their chiefs, because it is through them that their common feelings of political unity are expressed. Each chief stands for his own chiefdom, in that his followers will describe themselves as “Tembura’s Man “or “Gangara’s Man “; and there was a similar relationship between king and chief. As, therefore, the existence of each political unit is dependent on a series of personal relationships, and is only secure while the same political head exists, the political relationship is expressed in personal terms. But only legitimate Avungara may be chiefs, so that not only are Avungara the political leaders of the society, but also, as a group, they constitute the permanent principle and enduring symbol of the historical continuity of the Azande. There are no sacred drums, beads, stools, or other insignia, which function as national symbols and possess in themselves a virtue superior to the chief’s. The Avungara dynasty created the Zande nation and through them the Zande nation is perpetuated.

Avungara cultivate a dignity which distinguishes them from commoners in every aspect of day-to-day life. Their movements are more leisured, their hands are not roughened by field labour (many grow their finger nails long as a sign of this),[21] their hair styles are more elaborate, and their domestic utensils and huts are more finely carved and painted. These distinctions make them, not different from commoner Azande, but rather superior in the possession of those things that all Azande think desirable. The commoner, for instance, lives in a single homestead, which he then tries to extend by attracting dependants and marrying more wives, and the size of this homestead reflects the wealth on which his social position depends.

A king or chief attracts a host of dependants and has many wives, but his residence only differs from that of his subjects in the much larger number of its huts, the quality of its furnishings and in its division into private and public parts, separated from each other at least by a grass screen and sometimes by a large expanse of ground. The area covered could be very large and it was estimated that King Gbudwe's court extended over five square miles.[22] Mangbetu chiefs in their glory seem to have enjoyed all the privileges of the Avungara to an excessive degree and to have been more wealthy and dictatorial. Indeed Schweinfurth states: "The Monbuttoo potentates enjoy far more prerogatives than the Niam-Niam princes."[23] But the actual organization of their provinces and their legal powers were almost identical, and they resembled Avungara chiefs temporarily writ large.

A chief's[24] village in pre-European days was strategically sited, so that it was central for easy control of the chiefdom, and usually with its back to a river for defence. The perimeter consisted of the huts belonging to the chief's standing guard of young men (*palanga*), all enclosed within a brush fence. Outside this line was a large expanse of gardens, hoed by the chief's wives and young men. Inside this line the court was divided into three sections:

1. The *ngbwanga* or public outer court, where the people assembled, and where there was a large open-sided hut in which cases were tried.
2. The *barondo,* or inner area, where the chief conducted business with his deputies, and where the chief's grown sons, who had no provinces of their own, ate and slept.
3. The *ngbwadimo,* or private area, reserved for the personal huts of the chief and his wives, in which no unauthorized person, not even a chief's

son, dare set foot. This exclusiveness is still maintained today.

The life of the chiefdom centred round the *ngbwanga,* and Azande frequently visited the court to listen to cases, and to see, and be seen by, others.

A deputy's homestead was intermediate between those of a chief and an ordinary Zande. He would not have a separate *ngbwadimo*, but each of his several wives would have her own hut at a distance from the clear space attached to the homestead, where his dependants assembled and he adjudicated in their disputes. The social distance between Avungara and their people was in itself a barrier to theii effective day-to-day control of administration. Being removed from direct contact with commonplace affairs they were placed, in certain respects, at the mercy of their advisers.

The Avungara Myths

Avungara right to rule is validated by their history, both actual and mythical, and their superior powers established them as rulers over the Azande. They were the actual leaders of the conquering people who came from the west. There are different versions of the myths in every account of the Azande, but the following two given by Hutereau,[25] though brief, include the essential incidents.

In the distant past, before the migrations, and when the people lived in small clan groups, Kurangbwa, the son of a Kigobili father and an Abokondo mother, on the death of his father, settled near, but apart from, the land occupied by these two clans. He became a great hunter, going out with both clans, and taking his share of the kill home to his mother, Kliso, to cook. This she did much more skilfully and attractively than her neighbours who merely left the meat on hurdles in the sun until it was sufficiently high to whet the palate. Those who were invited to eat with Kurangbwa became disgusted by their previous habits and moved their homes to live by him, and Kurangbwa established himself as chief over them.

In another version, also given by Hutereau, Kliso is the hero who left the Kigobili clan because of internal dissension, and went to live among the Abokondo. There his superior knowledge of hunting magic established him as hunt-leader, and made him wealthy; he further enhanced his position by

his extraordinary generosity, so that he became renowned, not only among the Abokondo but also among their neighbours the Adeluwa and Avum Dukulu.

Cases were brought before him to settle, and he became further distinguished because of his skill as arbitrator; from this beginning he established himself as a chief, consolidating the various clans into a single political unit, taking the power from the separate clan heads into his own hands, and enforcing his judgments.

The two legends agree from this point, in that they recount the story of Bakliso, son of Kliso or Kurangbwa, who strengthened the position of chief by starting on the conquest of his neighbours, and placing his sons, each with a bodyguard of young warriors (*apalanga*), to rule over the conquered people. The Avungara now declare that it was Bakliso who invented their clan name, though it is more likely that the name was unknown until the death of Ngura the first chief, from the time of whose reign it can be said that history begins to replace myth.[26]

The story, recorded by Van den Plas,[27] of how the Abokondo clan lost their position as chiefs to the Akulungbwa, again insists how important it is for a chief to be good at settling legal disputes.

Baseninonga of the Akulungbwa clan, son of an Abokondo mother, crossed from the right bank of the Mbomu River and settled at the court of his mother's brother, chief of the Abokondo. There he created a name for himself as a disinterested and clever judge. One day, two Azande came with a case which the chief was unable to decide, so he sent them away, simply saying that each claimant had good reasons on his side. They returned, dissatisfied, to their village, but Baseninonga joined them and, discovering that no decision had been given by his uncle, ordered compensation to be paid to the injured party. Baseninonga's fame spread, and the people brought their cases to him rather than to their chief, who, however, accepted him as a dispenser of justice, and showed no malice. The Azande attached themselves to Baseninonga, and the Akulungbwa in this way became chiefs.

These myths are useful as rationalizations of contemporary structure rather than as historical records. The essential part of the legends is their insistence on the organizing power of the chiefs once they had established their superiority, and particularly their scrupulous justice, of which they had an administrative monopoly based on their strength and wisdom and the support of the common people. Neither Kliso nor Baseninonga claimed to

make the laws, but recognized the prior existence of a body of traditional law, which they interpreted and enforced. Military expansion, essential if all the Avungara princes were to obtain chiefdoms of their own, started as soon as the first stable chiefdom was established. The values which are implicit in the legend are those which confirm the political, legal, social, and military ascendancy of the Avungara.

LEGAL ASPECTS OF ZANDE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Legal Authority of the Avungara Chiefs

If we accept the field of law "as coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions"[28] and, correspondingly, sanctions as legal "when they are imposed by a constituted authority, political, military, or ecclesiastic,"[29] then the Avungara control all Zande law, for they are the only constituted political and military authority in Zandeland, while there is no authority that can properly be called ecclesiastical. Any other bodies attempting to constitute themselves legal authorities, such as the secret societies, were rigorously suppressed by the Avungara, and their growth has only coincided with the decay of Avungara absolutism and of the traditional organization of Zande society. It is on their control of the legal mechanism that Avungara power is really based, both in myth and in fact. Since Zandeland has been under European administration, Avungara authority has diminished with the limitation of their legal powers and the establishment of European tribunals to which appeals may be made. In addition the definitions of punishable crimes, admissible evidence, and appropriate penalties, have been entirely altered. That there has been a corresponding decline in public morality all authorities agree, in former times only married men were entitled to bring cases forward; an unmarried man had to be represented by his father or by the relative who was acting in the father's place and in whose homestead he dwelt. Women had no legal rights, and an injury to a woman was regarded as an injury to her father or her husband if she was married. Cases were conducted by arbitration, that is, by stating the law as the arbitrator understood it and by endeavouring to persuade the litigants to agree. But, in

fact, all minor cases were referred to the chief. According to Lagae[30] every subject had the right to appeal.

Most cases were brought forward by injured parties seeking compensation, and thus fall within the classification of "private delicts." These were such cases as homicide, attempted homicide, injury, adultery, improper behaviour verging on adultery (such as dancing opposite another man's wife),[31] theft, and insult. Disputes over runaway wives and bridewealth were frequent, but they will be dealt with separately in the section on marriage (see p. 68). Sorcery is a special case and was treated partly as an accumulation of "private delicts," and partly as a breach of tribal custom.

The principal public delicts tried by chiefs were offences against their absolute authority, such as disloyalty, using magic against a chief, committing adultery with a chief's wife, or participating in an organization which usurped any of the functions of a chief. These offences, in which a chief was personally concerned, were settled summarily by the chief in his own interest. Charges that were clearly true, and which did not have to be proved true or false by the *benge* oracle, were seldom considered at a properly constituted court but were settled immediately by the chiefs, and the penalty formerly was usually instant strangulation at the hands of the chief himself or his bodyguard. The chief's judgment was never questioned.[32] In cases of adultery with a chief's wife, if the guilty party had influential friends and relatives, who interceded for him and could pay heavy compensation, the sentence was sometimes commuted to mutilation, which consisted of the ablation of the genitals and hands, and often also of the lips and ears.[33] Lagae states that the man's relations would be required to hand over several women to the chief, as part of the compensation, and might themselves be reduced to slavery.

For minor offences the chief might have the offender fastened in a sort of pillory and exposed to the elements and the mockery of passers-by.

The justice administered by chiefs was instant and stern and, according to Schweinfurth, was also often corrupt; the chief would use his *palanga* (private bodyguard) not only to execute justice and safeguard his realm, but also night and day to satisfy his malice, envy, or greed.

The chief heard cases in his outer courtyard (*ngbwanga),* the political centre of his realm. According to Lagae the chief appeared when he was ready and the people had to await his pleasure, often for days.[34] There was

no particular ceremony when he did appear, though the people bowed towards him and kept respectfully silent. The chief sat on a stool, a privilege shared only by a few of his "grands notables" (exactly whom Lagae does not say), who sat behind him.

In the clear space in front of the chief the litigants sat, separated from both the witnesses and spectators. The general court procedure is fairly clear from our various authorities, though their accounts differ as to the dignity of the proceedings. According to Lagae[35] only one person was allowed to state his case at a time; witness and supporters were not allowed to discuss among themselves, nor might the crowd even whisper. Lelong[36] also remarks on the controlled order of Zande courts, and contrasts it with the hubbub among the Mangbetu; Larken, however, states the opposite. After the case had been heard there was usually a break of a day or more for the poison oracle to be consulted, after which judgment was given.

When a chief had given his judgment, the behaviour of the litigants followed a stereotyped pattern. The party in whose favour judgment had been given cringed before his chief, extolling his virtues in a clear voice, sometimes even rolling upon the ground in his enthusiasm. The party who had lost was expected to accept judgment philosophically, only letting out a few respectful groans, even if he had been condemned to instant death.

After the chief had withdrawn to his inner *ngbwadimo* there was a general discussion of the proceedings, which often concluded in a dance. When a chief had to judge a case in which the defendant had been caught in the act, there was no difficulty, and all he had to do was to administer the customary punishment, or enforce the payment of the customary compensation. But such clear issues were rare; the most usual cases were of adultery or homicide caused by witchcraft; the former were rarely, and the latter never, susceptible of proof by circumstantial or visible evidence. In such cases, recourse was had to the oracle.

The " Legal " Importance of the Zande Oracle

If a husband caught an adulterer *in flagrante delicto,* he was entitled, if he could, to kill the adulterer on the spot. But more usually he took the case before his chief and accepted the compensation offered, which Lagae[37] puts at 20 knives and a woman. It is not clear from Lagae who exactly was

entitled to the woman— the chief or the injured husband—though he implies that the injured man generally presented the woman to the chief to ingratiate himself at court and thus protect himself from his enemies, reprisals.[38]

If the man was unable to pay the compensation, he underwent mutilation at the hands of the husband. Unless he was a most hardened offender, kinsmen and blood-brothers would almost certainly produce the requisite compensation. An adulterous wife was not divorced,[39] but was generally beaten by her husband who was entitled to injure or even kill her without risk of penalty. But very few adulterers have ever been caught in the act, and the husband's proof always rested on the answer of the poison oracle.[40]

Similarly with murder: except for the very few cases in which acts of violence were actually observed, all proof depended on the poison oracle. To Azande all death is the result of murder, and no one dies of natural causes as we understand the term. A person dies because he or she has been the victim of witchcraft or sorcery.[41] As a witch performs his work incorporeally, he cannot be traced by any physical means, and the enquiring relative is bound to consult the oracles on that occasion, for there is no other method of identifying the guilty person.

A list of the names of suspects is placed before the oracle,[42] and having obtained an answer from it, the avenging relative repairs to court and lays his evidence before his chief. The evidence of the oracle is likewise the only means of proving in court a case of adultery; a wife's confession is insufficient.

Professor Evans-Pritchard sums up the significance of the poison oracle: "To understand Zande legal procedure one must know exactly how the poison oracle is operated, because in the old days it was in itself the greater part of what we know as rules of evidence, judge, jury, and witnesses.… Witchcraft cases were settled entirely through the oracles. … All a prince had to do was to confirm the names of witches discovered by the kinsmen of dead persons by placing their names before his own oracle. The compensation which a witch had to pay for his crime was fixed by custom."[43]

This process insisted on the acceptance of compensation, outlawed feud, and was an essential adjunct of political control by the chief of a united chiefdom. The imposition of Zande legal processes on subjected peoples went hand in hand with the imposition of their political system, and this combination effectively coerced them into complete integration with the rest

of the Zande hegemony, in preparation for complete "Zandeization" in language and culture.[44]

A chief[45] did not personally consult the poison oracle, although he could be present, but employed two or three official operators who performed for him when he required an oracular answer to personal, state, or legal problems. As the "fate of their master and the purity of the law" depended on these officials it was obviously essential that only scrupulously honest men, who could also be relied upon to observe the requisite taboos,[46] should be employed. Not only were they selected men, but each of them served at court for a month only, and then returned to his homestead and his wife. They had also to be discreet for "revealing the speech of the king's poison oracle," was a most serious offence. The post was often a stepping-stone to political advancement.

In the mid-nineteen-twenties, when Professor Evans-Pritchard was investigating, important chiefs maintained one or two old men as oracle consulters, and perhaps a trusted son or Zande boy as preparer. Consultations usually took place two or three times a week at least, though at King Gbudwe's court there were daily consultations.

In cases of adultery, the husband based his charge on the answer of the oracle. Similarly the accused would offer to undergo a *ngbu* or test, rather than produce evidence of a circumstantial kind. He chose a man whom he trusted from among the notable men at court, who questioned the oracle for him but acted on behalf of his prince, and the declaration of the oracle settled the case. If either of the parties suspected the oracle consulter of cheating, they could appeal to the chief, laying a knife as a pledge, and the chief held another consultation, which he attended. To a Zande, whether he be accuser or accused, this is the proper method of trial.

The value placed on the decision of the poison oracle was dominant to Azande, and the chief's oracle was the final arbiter in all legal disputes. The power it had was partly intrinsic, and partly derived from the political status of the chief.

In day-to-day affairs the esteem in which an oracle is held depends in part on the social status of the owner, and correspondingly the social superiority of a prominent man was reinforced by the prestige of his oracle. The virtue of an oracle depended on the care expended in maintaining its purity and the pains taken by the "owner, operator, and consulter the higher a man's status the more care was likely to be taken of his oracle. In Zande society, political

status corresponds to social status, and the legal efficacy of a poison oracle corresponds to the political status of its owner. Thus, the oracle of a rich man will be more influential than that of a poor one, and a deputy's more than an ordinary man's. A young man would be unlikely to possess any *benge,* and would have to rely on an older and wealthier man.

A chief's oracle was the most protected and therefore the most authoritative within his chiefdom. Just as there was no higher political authority than the chief, so there was no higher judicial authority than his oracle, and neither could be usurped.

Within a kingdom, some chiefs possessed oracles which were considered more reliable than others, either generally or in answering particular questions: but each one was absolute within the chiefdom of its owner, though all were inferior to the king's. In the past, subordinate chiefs would occasionally send cases up as far as King Gbudwe's oracle,[47] and the decision of his oracle always took precedence over whatever decision might have been given by the chief's oracle.

Thus any person involved in any legal action, either as defendant or prosecutor, had to resort to the poison oracle because it was the only legal mechanism. In using the oracles he was bound to acknowledge the superiority of the chief and, in fact, they were regarded as corresponding and equal institutions, and it was said of the oracle that "it settles cases as judicially as princes."[48] The legal and political systems coincided at all points, and although it is conceivable that either institution might have existed without the other—the oracle might have provided a legal mechanism without its exact correlation with Avungara chieftainship, and the Avungara might have maintained themselves without owning the senior poison oracles—in fact each leant heavily on the other, each reinforced the other's powers, and neither could have existed as formidably as it did without the presence of the other.

In the last resort, however, although the chief depended on his poison oracle, he was the paramount partner in the association. "Control of the poison oracle in all legal cases gave the princes enormous power. No death or adultery could be legally avenged without a verdict from their oracles, so that the court was the sole medium of legal action and the king or his representative the sole source of law. Although the procedure was a mystical one it was carried out in the king's name and he was vested with judicial

authority as completely as if a more common-sense system of justice had obtained."[49]

Avungara were almost above the law and the poison oracle as applied to commoners. This was firstly, because they could only be reprimanded or punished by other Avungara senior to themselves, and usually only for political offences which caused jealousy or mistrust in the ruling chief, not for offences against commoners.[50] Secondly, although Avungara chiefs constantly consulted oracles about the activities of their rivals, and among themselves were always placing each other's names before the poison oracle, a commoner would be unlikely to use the oracle for bringing an action against a Vungara, even one who had no responsible political authority. For, however deep the rivalries between Avungara themselves, they were united in opposition to commoners.[51] In extension of this principle, deputies and influential men who were well established were rarely charged, as no one was likely to put their names to the oracle, "because their lives would be a misery if they insulted the most important men in their neighbourhood."[52]

The poison oracle acted as a conservative force which buttressed the social order at every point.

Economic Organization

Traditionally there was no formal system of land tenure; the right to work land depended on customary possession and use and, as there was plenty of land for the clearing, the chief had no real control over it, although nominally all land belonged to him. Chiefs, apparently, never possessed any ritual responsibility for their land, and therefore had no ritual claims upon it. Occasionally a chief might order rain-making ceremonies[53] to be performed but this was part of his general responsibility for the welfare of his people, and was not due to any ritual virtue with which he was endowed.

It is certain, however, that a chief received tribute of various sorts, including both produce and labour from his people, although the system which existed prior to European occupation has been somewhat disrupted today. Although all authorities agree on the "limitless power" of the

Avungara, their accounts of the extent and nature of that power in the economic sphere vary considerably.

The dues which a chief received were of three types: first, labour and service: the *palanga* had to hoe his gardens, and all his subjects were expected to supply materials for and build his homesteads.[54] Secondly, there were standard dues—ivory, a portion of every beast killed, a quantity of termite oil—and court dues. Thirdly, there were customary gifts that his subjects made him: presents after a successful legal action, gifts made by those who sought his favour, and the ordinary gifts which a Zande was expected to bring when he made a visit to court. Most of these were in the form of perishable foodstuffs or beer, and a chief did not accumulate them, but returned them to his subjects as presents or hospitality. A chief was expected to be generous and to entertain lavishly, to assist his needy subjects with subsistence and to acquire wives, to hold feasts and dances, while any Zande who visited court expected a substantial free meal. The myths which explain Avungara leadership stress the fact that because Kurangbwa[55] had dispensed excellent food he soon had a good following. Within this framework the gifts of food did not need to be prescribed, nor indeed could they be when supplies were so fluctuating; as generosity was a virtue that earned respect, subjects liked to give in order to increase their personal prestige, and chiefs, for the sake of their reputations, had to be lavish. The chief who was stingy knew that his subjects would show their diminishing respect by lessening their gifts, while the commoner who gave to his chief when he could knew that he would be assisted in his turn when need arose. The chief's reserve was a sort of relief store.[56] Nevertheless, the commoner's economic obligations to his chief were not enforced by sanctions such as those which bound him politically and legally; thus the Zande subject who was able to shirk his duties did so, even though he recognized his theoretical obligations.

Chiefs relied for essential produce on their own gardens;[57] tribute from their subjects would be restricted in amount by the limited subsistence agriculture practised by Azande, and was returned to them, plus any domestic surplus from the chief's own gardens, either in celebrations or as recompense or dole. Of course the two supplies were not accounted for separately in that way, either by chief or subject. The chief saw that his people gave their tribute and the people saw that their chief was generous.

Travellers, Junker[58] particularly, have commented on the simple mode of life, in food, dress, and ceremony, followed by the chiefs of the "early period," in contrast with the splendour of the later Mangbetu and Avungara potentates, who had for some time been dealing with the Arab traders. This suggests that while the presence of the traders disturbed Avungara authority as a whole, it did, nevertheless, enable certain chiefs to extend their domains and acquire a firmer military and economic control over their subjects. Prisoners of war and all ivory were recognized by custom as due to the chief; and this custom was reinforced by the traders, who dealt exclusively with the chiefs and not with their subjects. The monopoly of this trade immensely increased the wealth of certain chiefs, and the redistribution of the presents which they obtained from the traders gave them a material hold over their subjects by creating new bonds of obligation. Certain chiefs accumulated great treasures. Munza's wardrobe alone, for instance, occupied "a whole series of huts,"[59] one of which was entirely full of rare feathers. Certain chiefs also obtained enough rifles and ammunition from the traders to equip a strong band of their own warriors. This increased military strength was used by those chiefs who collected sufficient to arm a strong band, to subdue dissentients within their own chiefdoms, to attack their neighbours, and to repel the traders themselves. The best known example of a chief of this type was Mofio, who armed a band 300 strong and then held his own against the slavers.[60] But such examples are rare and the traders only temporarily influenced small areas of Zandeland.

For a chief to aspire to any degree of magnificence it was necessary for him not only to have a large group of working wives, and a strongly disciplined *palanga*, but also to be politically secure in his chiefdom. According to Lagae a chief had certain privileges which enabled him to marry a large number of wives, thus contracting personal ties with their families, and at the same time to accumulate a store of wealth which he could use to attach others to himself. When a chief took a wife among his subjects he was not obliged to pay the customary bridewealth though he might make a token payment of two or three knives. On the death of a chief's wife his subjects were expected to contribute gifts as marks of their sorrow and mourning and these the chief was expected to hand on to the father of the dead woman.

When the daughter of a chief was taken in marriage by a commoner, her husband was obliged to contribute between 40 and 60 knives, or at least

double the usual bridewealth. This clearly placed the chief in a position where he was certain to acquire wives and knives though they would not normally remain as accumulated stock.

If a chief took the daughter or sister of another chief to wife, the bridewealth would be set at "40, or 60, or even more knives."

Lagae[61] also mentions other methods by which the chief was legitimately able to acquire wives and knives. All the smiths resident in his territory were expected to pay an annual tribute in knives, in return for which they were exempt from all other customary charges; though again we are not told what these customary charges were.

Lagae[62] records an indirect method by which chiefs, through their control of the administration of justice, could obtain, if not direct revenue, at any rate food-producing women. If the chief's oracle had decided in favour of the defendant in an adultery case, and the chief had awarded the customary damages of one woman and 20 knives, the defendant would often keep the knives only, and surrender the woman to his chief.

From the stock of women he acquired by methods such as the above, and from those captured in war, a chief might reward a faithful servant with a wife, thereby making his servant further obliged to him, for the chief could assume some of the attributes of a father-in-law. In such cases no bridewealth was paid and there were none of the usual ceremonies, and any daughters of the marriage were delivered up to the chief and were known as daughters of the gift (*wilimofu*).[63] This seems a strange arrangement, and a woman so obtained cannot be classified as a full wife, whatever might be her social status and her personal relations with the man; she should rather be classified as a legally recognized concubine or consort.

In the sphere of "political" relationships between chiefs, a king was always the father or elder brother of his subordinate chiefs, and any subordinate chief would be in the same relationship to his own subordinate "sub-chiefs"; thus each subordinate was bound to his superior by personal bonds of obligation, such as bound every Zande son or younger brother to his father or elder brother. These obligations, which both parties would have been brought up to recognize, included mutual assistance and the exchange of gifts, though in the absence of political organization they would not be expressed in terms of tribute or relief.

Emin Pasha summarizes the mutual duties of Mangbetu chiefs and sub-chiefs in the following passage.

"The rulers of the country do not levy regular taxes, but the chiefs are expected to appear before them from time to time, when they bring with them presents of girls, cattle, eggs, barkcloth, etc. During the time of their residence at court, the sovereign is bound to find them in food, which accounts for the great crowd of servants, and especially wives, belonging to each chief, for upon them devolves the cultivation of the fields."[64]

But even these obligations[65] between Avungara were often weakened by the ambition of individual chiefs to break away and be independent; often a tribute obligation, though recognized, was not honoured because it could not be exacted by force. We suggest that, in so far as a subordinate chief was expected by his king to make presents of the kind referred to by Emin Pasha, there was a constant incitement to each chief to raid his neighbours and, if possible, annex fresh territories, not only in order to increase his own power, and thereby his chances of becoming independent or succeeding the king on his death, but also to extort from the defeated the presents that he in turn was expected to give. The tribute system thus encouraged and supported the Mangbetu policy of aggressive expansion. In the political and economic organization of the Zande, which was similar to that of the Mangbetu, the same forces were presumably at work. We have no idea what quantities of foodstuffs were brought to a chief by a sub-chief's tribute-bearing party, but as everything had to be carried by porters, the amount could never have been a great deal more than would be required to entertain the party with food and drink.

A chief's economic well-being seems, therefore, to have been related to the extent of his political authority over his subordinate chiefs.

Few definite conclusions can be drawn about the economic relations either between chief and commoner or between chief and chief. The accounts given by our authorities nowhere present a complete picture, and indeed frequently do not tally, though the contradictions are sometimes more apparent than real. It is certain that all commoners were under an obligation to deliver to their chiefs all ivory, all prisoners of war, and a share of the spoils of the chase; to make periodic gifts of produce, to build and maintain the chief's homestead, and to serve in his *palanga* or bodyguard-labour squad. These obligations were an extension of those existing between members of a homestead and its head, between homestead heads and their deputy, and between deputies and their chiefs, who were invariably close kinsmen.

Thus, the Zande economic system, aided by the influence of the traders, increased the political solidarity of certain chiefdoms and kingdoms, though in others the political authority of the Avungara was weakened by the acquisitive actions of individual chiefs, the formation of independent groups within chiefdoms, and the setting up of permanent *zeribas* by traders. In addition the traders were prepared to ally themselves with one chief against another and to intervene in succession wars, thus intruding an extraneous force into the social and political struggle.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Before European occupation warfare occupied a great part of the male Zande's time, and the Azande were noted and redoubtable warriors. The comparative efficiency of their military organization is demonstrated by the extent of their conquests. Although a chief depended for a part of his labour upon his *palanga* this was primarily a military organization.

The *palanga* or *aparanga,* as it is called in the Sudan,[66] was the nucleus of a chief's forces. The members lived at court in special huts at the entrance to the chief's enclosure. It consisted of a selection of the young unmarried warriors of the chiefdom; Seligman mentions 20 years as the recruiting age. There seem to have been two types of young men who were consistently recruited: those whose families for some reason were poor, and who sought advancement at court, where the chief's favour would compensate for their social shortcomings; it was probably men of this class who received wives without payment of bridewealth, as mentioned by Lagae.[67] The second type consisted of boys whom the chiefs often received as pages and educated. *Apalanga* were perforce unmarried, not apparently by regulation but because of their restricted opportunities.

The *palanga* was under the direct orders of the chief, and was ready at all times both for raiding and as a garrison to protect the chief from surprise attacks, a chief usually siting his settlement so that his personal huts could only be approached through those of his *palanga*. They were also ready for instant action should a herd of elephants enter the neighbourhood, an event which was recognized as being of "national importance," because of the hundredweights of ivory and tons of meat that there was a chance of

securing.[68] The chief's control of the *palanga* was in this respect valuable to him economically, because he was able to trade the ivory and feast his people. The only information about the size of a *palanga* is given by Schweinfurth, who estimated Chief Nganye's bodyguard as between 20 and 30; Nganye being a chief who maintained his court in medium luxury.

The control of such a body of permanent warriors must have reinforced a chief's authority and, although they may at times have been an embarrassment, a chief who had ability could direct the organization to strengthen his own personal power.

A confidential duty of the chief's warriors was to keep under observation the network of connecting paths around the chief's court, especially if the chief was suspicious of the loyalty of any of his followers.[69]

The able-bodied married men were organized into groups called by Seligman *abakumba*·[70] Lagae[71] refers to the leaders of these groups as *bakumba;* those leaders who brought their detachments to court were distinguished by the war medicine, known as *gbaka vura,* that they plastered on their foreheads.

At court young Avungara were appointed to be heads of companies.[72] One soldier in each platoon carried the *gbulu* or colours, and he was expected to fight at the front, never looking behind him, and to be an inspiration to his comrades.

The organization for defence was simple: the chief summoned his warriors by sounding the war drum, and they came immediately. To start a war, however, was a more complicated procedure. The chief, according to Seligman, "organized the war party, decided the number of fighting men, the order of battle, the use of magic, the disposal of prisoners, etc."[73] Lagae's account[74] is fuller and confirms that the chief was prime mover, though he could not act without his people. Indeed, surrounded as he was by his young warriors, it was often in fact the chief who was urged into organizing a raid to satisfy his people. He was the only person able to declare war or make peace, and he could initiate proceedings by consulting his oracle to see if the time was propitious for war. If the oracle[75] gave a favourable answer the chief would summon his deputies, outline to them his plans, and recount the decision of the oracle. He would not ask them directly if they favoured the war, but by the enthusiasm of their response would decide whether or not to proceed with his plans. If the chief's people clamoured for war he sent a

deputation bearing a broken spear, which ensured safe conduct, to the enemy chief and laid his demands before him. Wars were generally the culmination of a long period of hostility and jealousy between chiefs. Indeed there was an almost perpetual state of war between most neighbouring chiefdoms, as for instance between Gbudwe and Wando, which sometimes remained latent and sometimes broke out into open fighting.

Succession wars were not immediately precipitated by the death of a chief, but were preceded by a period of preparation and intrigue.

Two or more chiefs would often join together in temporary alliance in order to raid a third; sometimes this bond was reinforced by the two chiefs contracting blood-brotherhood. If a chief wished another to join him in such a raiding alliance, he sent a bundle of spears by his messenger as a token.[76] War was also declared by displaying symbolical tokens.[77] Most Zande wars were waged over succession disputes, or as part of a constant battle for prestige between two powerful independent chiefs; but chiefs situated on the Zande marches constantly endeavoured to increase the number of their subjects, and hence their prestige, by conquering and absorbing their non-Zande neighbours. Larken states that a chief would first dispatch spies (*a-bomai*) to settle in the enemy country so as to act as guides to his troops when he later attacked. When the war drums sounded the warriors collected and were dispatched under the command of a distinguished soldier.

According to Larken the young men did not go in to attack, but remained behind in reserve. For battle the two sides waited until only a few yards separated them; they first of all discharged their throwing knives, then a general "mêlée" ensued. After they had exhausted their supply of lances and knives the parties would retire to a safe distance and regroup themselves, meanwhile hurling abuse at each other. The process would be repeated until one side fled. Battles did not usually last long, although a state of war might last for months or even years. Azande usually attacked shortly after dawn, and night fighting was rare. All the authorities have noted that the chief rarely accompanied his troops into battle but remained behind with his women and a picked guard, ready to slip into the forest or swamps if the enemy were victorious. There were exceptions to this rule, however, and the most conspicuously successful chiefs did accompany their troops. All booty and prisoners were the chief's property, though he was expected to share his good fortune with his people. If a chief was excessively avaricious and did not distribute the booty, his people might refuse to follow him to war.

This military organization is today quite dead and the *palanga,* even as a working organization, no longer exists.

Notes

1 A kingdom or a dependent chiefdom is the equivalent of a Zande tribe, and is the area within which legal sanctions are recognized and between the members of which there will not be feud or war; this is the largest unit recognized by its members as a political entity.

2 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. I, p. 459.

3 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 17.

4 Ibid.

5 This did not stop them waging war against each other.

6 Junker, 1890, p. 193.

7 Seligman, 1932, p. 503.

8 Wyld, 1949, p. 57. Leitch (personal communication, 1952) says that this is not so today.

9 See 1873, vol. II, p. 96, for an account of the subdivisions of Munza's kingdom.

10 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 54.

11 Ibid., p. 293.

12 Ibid., p. 5.

13 MS. "Notes on Sudan Administration."

14 1873, vol. II, p. 22. Footnote.

15 Not to be confused with the term Auro, used to describe the second wave of Sudanic invaders and also as the name of a Zande group living in the triangle Uele River, Uere River, and Api (see de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1927, p. 14).

16 6, 1926, pp. 46—54.

17 Lagae, op. cit., p. 25, also states that illegitimate children were formerly slaves; but this conflicts with his own later remarks, and the evidence of others. They were indeed generally sneered at and made conscious of their ambiguous position, but they did not formally lose status.

18 Hutereau, 1, 1909, p. 17, states that Avungara did not keep slave wives but handed them on to their subjects.

19 Hutereau, loc. cit., states that a married male slave who has had several children "est considéré comme faisant partie de la communauté, au même titre, à peu près, qu'un homme libre."

20 This lack of interest is related to the unimportance of the clan system.

21 Baumann, 1, 1927, p. 23.

22 Larken, 1927, p. 129.

23 1 873, vol. II, pp. 96-7.

24 See Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 17—22 and 158; Seligman, 1932, p. 505; Larken, op. cit., p. 129. The native names here are those given by Lagae; they vary slightly in other authorities.

25 1 922, pp. 141-3.

26 Cf. Lagae, 6, 1926, and Van den Plas, 2, 1921, pp. 42—3, who give a combined historical explanation and suggest that *a*—plural; *vo* = present participle of verb *vo*—to bind, to unite; *ngara* = strength, force—which means that the Avungara are "those who seized power," "the binders of strength," " the rulers."

27 Op cit., pp. 37-9.

28 Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Sanctions," *Encyclopcedia of Social Sciences,* 1933, vol. IX.

29 Radcliffe-Brown, "Primitive Law," ibid.

30 6, 1926, p. 20.

31 Larken, 1927, p. 105, states that for this offence a husband would always be awarded damages against his wife's partner.

32 As late as 1910 a chief who had summarily executed a subject and was called to account by the Belgian authorities, refused to come and give an account of himself and was supported by his people.

33 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 24, and photograph facing p. 176.

34 Ibid., p. 22. "Ils attendront des jours et des jours, jusqu'à ce que le chef daigne les entendre." Though on p. 23 he writes: "Le chef consacre ainsi chaque jour plusieurs heures à écouter les plaintes de ses sujets et à trancher leurs palabres." This seems another occasion on which Lagae does not adequately distinguish between the ideal and the actual.

35 Ibid., pp. 22-3.

36 1946, vol. II, p. 77.

37 5, 1926, p. 24.

38 Ibid., p. 196.

39 Ibid., p. 24.

40 See Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, pp. 267-9, for an analysis of the importance of the poison oracle in cases of adultery and murder. This description is largely based on his account.

41 See below, p 76.

42 See Section on Witchcraft and Oracles (pp. 80-94).

43 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 267.

44 Larken (2, 1926, p. 52) tentatively suggests that the poison oracle itself, not only the related processes, was an Mbomu introduction into the Sudan area, and that only the *iwa* and *dakpa* oracles were previously known. This is supported by the fact that it is not found anywhere to the north of the Zande area.

45 This account is from Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 288-9.

46 Especially refraining from sexual intercourse.

47 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, pp. 43-4.

48 Ibid., p. 389.

49 Ibid., p. 293.

50 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 16.

51 From Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, pp. 173 and 32. “There is an established fiction that Avongara are not witches, and it is maintained by the overwhelming power and prestige of the ruling princes.”

52 Ibid., p. 33.

53 See Evans-Pritchard, 21, 1936, p. 21.

54 Also to keep open the network of tracks which connected all the homesteads to the chief’s court. But this is rather an administrative convenience than a due.

55 See pp. 53-4 above.

56 Reversals of fortune are very rapid among a people who depend so absolutely on their crops. Culwick, 1950, paras. 267 and 95.

57 The consequent need for fresh garden ground would account for the constant moving of the sites of their courts, which so bewildered the early travellers. In the south certain Mangbetu chiefs wrere able to maintain themselves on the same spot, primarily because they depended on permanent plantations of bananas rather than on shifting garden cultivation.

58 1890, p. 107.

59 Schweinfurth. 1873, vol. II, pp. 91-3.

60 Ibid., pp. 417-19.

61 6, 1926, p. 196.

62 Ibid., pp. 21-2.

63 Ibid., p. 93.

64 Emin Pasha, 1888, pp. 205-6.

65 Schweinfurth (1873, vol. II, p. 74) describes presents given by Mummery to his brother, King Munza.

66 Seligman, 1932, p. 506

67 5, 1926, p. 193.

68 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. I, p. 441.

69 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 18.

70 1 932, p. 506.

71 Op. cit., p. 18.

72 Larken, 3, 1927, p. 101.

73 1 932, p. 504.

74 6, 1926, pp. 19-20.

75 Larken, loc. cit.

76 Junker, 1890, vol. II, p. 23.

77 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. II, p. 23.

VI.
Social and Kinship Organization

A Zande man probably journeyed among his neighbours and also had some contact with foreigners, and this is seen in his readiness to borrow ideas and objects from them. Nevertheless the frontiers of the kingdom or independent chiefdom are the extent of the Zande commoner's social horizon and his range of "effective" social contacts is limited to the group of people among whom he lives—comprising the homestead and its extension, the group of homesteads collected around a deputy. If he leaves one chiefdom and settles in another he has to affiliate himself to a new group.

Zande Clans

The clan system cuts across the politico-social groups previously mentioned and is subordinated to them, but it affects them, particularly in so far as the clans regulate marriage. Zande commoner clans are very numerous and vary considerably in size. If, at some time in the past, the clans were political and residential groups, their present widespread and uneven distribution shows little sign of it and in a kingdom of a few thousand people there may be representatives of a hundred or more different clans. Clans have little or no corporate life and no political significance. "Bonds of communal life are to be found in the Zande political system rather than in their clan organization."[1] Seligman lists three different types of clan which may be distinguished among the Azande of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan:

1. Clans of Mbomu origin, i.e., the conquering invaders.
2. Clans of *auro* origin.
3. Some groups of people of *auro* origin who have been so completely absorbed into the main stream of Zande life that they are now spoken of as clans, and function as such, though properly speaking they are degenerated tribal groups.

There is no information available concerning any differences in the internal organization of these, and all are known as *ngbwatunga*.[2] Each, according to the general term of classification, has a particular name, is patrilineal, totemic, and imposes exogamy and certain food prohibitions upon its members.

The Vungara clan provides a contrast, and its exclusiveness is stressed. Like commoner clans it is strictly patrilineal, but it is not exogamous, and Avungara may marry both commoners and other Avungara, even their own brothers and sisters. Unlike commoners they place great stress on descent, for on it depends their legitimate claim to rule. Their totem is the leopard, and some great chiefs associate themselves with the lion, the "elder brother of the leopard."[3]

A clan consists of those who are descended through males from a common ancestor, though individual members of a clan will not, unless the clan be recently formed, be able to give the genealogical links which connect them with their common founder. Azande display little interest in long-range descent, and very few can tell who was their great-great-grandfather. No clans have any sort of corporate history and usually only the vaguest myths about their origin.[4] Clan members are usually uncertain of the whereabouts of other branches of their clan; indeed they do not think of a clan as being a corporate unity containing related segments. Lagae[5] states that the essential determinants of a clan, and those so regarded by the Azande themselves, are the possession of the same clan name and the same totemic animal, which each clan considers to be mystically connected with the spirits of its dead members and which members of that clan are forbidden to eat. The possession of either the same name or the same totem alone is not sufficient: there must be the same combination of the two. Azande often refer to clans by their nicknames. Some clans have no totems.

The Azande have no notion of a clan segmenting and the segments still retaining any connection with each other. New clans are formed, Lagae

says, only if a member of a clan finds that the clan he had presumed to be his is not really so and yet he cannot find out which is his real clan. Azande believe that after death the totem of a dead man appears at his grave. It was customary for sons to watch over the grave of their father in order to see this totem, or a sign of its presence. If no such evidence appeared but, instead, the evidence of another totem was seen, then the son concluded that his father was not really a member of the clan he had supposed and that his grandmother had conceived his father in adultery. He would then try to get from her the name and clan of his genitor and, if the totem which appeared fitted this, he would take that clan. If he could not get such information he would himself form a new clan, taking the name of his father as his clan name and his totem from the animal which appeared at his father's grave. Clans which have no totem explain this lack by saying that no animal appears at their fathers' tombs. This account of the formation of new clans sounds improbable and Lagae states that the custom of grave watching is in any case dying out.

Incest and Exogamy Rules

Members of the same clan do not marry, or form the bond of blood-brotherhood with each other. The law of exogamy is fundamental, according to Lagae,[6] and forbids not only marriage but also sexual intercourse between clan members, this being regarded as incest. This prohibition is supported by the sanction of leprosy, or at least a virulent mange, which strikes the offending parties. If a marriage takes place, in ignorance of their relationship, between two members of the same clan, the parents of the girl will break the match on discovery. Larken[7] reports one case of a couple who did not separate, despite the general disapproval of their neighbours.

There are, of course, occasional lapses and Seligman[8] reports cases in which a husband has sued his wife's brother for adultery. Such examples may well be related to the relaxation of moral standards which has followed European occupation.

When a woman marries she becomes a member of her husband's clan, although she will continue to observe her own clan's food prohibitions as

well as her husband's. Her children will also observe them, at any rate while they are small and eat with her, and also while she is pregnant, as will her husband, for fear of injuring the health of the baby she carries.[9] Children, although they follow their father's clan, are forbidden to marry into the clan (*ando*) of their mother. According to Lagae it is also forbidden to marry into the *ando* of your father or that of your father's father.[10] Seligman, however, comments that, though unusual, "probably such a match would not be forbidden."[11] Only if misfortunes followed and the oracle divined the marriage as the cause, would such a marriage once established be broken. Clan membership entails the usual duties which can be summed up as 'reciprocal preferential treatment";[12] clan members are expected to be hospitable to each other, a provision which is useful for travellers, but in normal social relations the intensity with which the bond is felt depends on the frequency of intercourse, and near affines are generally more highly regarded than distant clansmen. This duty is extended to include members of the mother's clan, but again its application tends to depend on social proximity. Members of the same clan are expected to join together to celebrate births, marriages, and funerals, but in fact only clansmen who reside near at hand are likely to appear, though kinsfolk may travel long distances. Instead of being a clan meeting such assemblies usually consist of the neighbourhood group bound together by kinship and marriage ties, plus perhaps a few close kin from a distance. Group activities, such as circumcision, are organized on a neighbourhood basis, rather than by clans. Indeed the Azande do not think of the clan with all its scattered units as a whole and when they "talk of their clans they really mean their close paternal kin or those clansmen who live in their immediate vicinity and with whom they come into frequent contact."[13]

The head of the kin group occupying a homestead would generally be related, either directly or by marriage, to the deputy and to the other groups of kin who made up the deputy's people. Thus the kinship and marriage ramifications run both up and down and across the group. The deputy might himself be connected, by the marriage of a daughter or sister, with the chief, or possibly, though this is less likely, he himself might be married to the chief's sister or daughter.

Based as they are on the enduring ties of kinship and descent, such kinship groups provide permanent nuclei round which political groups can

form. A chief will not appoint a deputy unless he is surrounded by such a nucleus and the appointment is a political recognition of what is already a social fact. These social groups, though they may individually be affected by political changes, are structural phenomena independent of them, and they provide the permanent units from which the major political units, the chiefdoms, can be formed and reformed.

Consequently, the structural permanence of this group, which allows both for internal fluctuation of personnel and external political changes, renders unimportant the larger dispersed clan group which neither responds to fresh social and political exigencies, nor is strong enough to stand up to political pressures.

Azande think in kin and not in clan terms; they recognize the dual role of mother and father in the creation of the family, and the obligations of a child to the kin of both parents and theirs to the child. But greater importance attaches to the paternal connection, as is to be expected in a society in which male values are dominant. A child takes the clan name of his father, and pays respect to his father's shrine; it is the father who arranges the marriage of his daughter and who provides the bride-wealth for his son's first marriage.

Evans-Pritchard relates this insistence upon male predominance—which nevertheless recognizes women as essential "half-workers "—to Zande ideas about heredity and gestation and to their eschatological concepts. For a child to be born the mother must provide a fruitful womb *(bagude* or *bambu agude)* which is "the place or hut of the children," but the *mbisimo gude* or vital "soul of the child "is provided by the father and this makes all the children—irrespective of sex—members of the father's clan.[14]

KINSHIP

Within the group of kin a child is expected to observe certain types of behaviour towards particular relatives. The kin from whom equivalent behaviour is expected can be seen from the categories into which relatives are classified and is apparent from the kinship terms used.[15] Seligman gives a full list of the kinship terms used by the Azande. The descriptive terms

may be extended in a classificatory way to cover clan members of the equivalent generation.

Parents are very affectionate towards their children and have considerable authority over them until they are married adults with families of their own. A son is dependent on his father for the provision of the bridewealth for his first marriage, and hence cannot get married except with his father's approval; until he is married a Zande has not achieved a man's full status and, in the old days, could not undertake any independent legal action. Nowadays, however, a young man can earn money and provide his own bridewealth. As the old men tended to monopolize the younger women for wives, it was unusual in the past for a commoner to many until he was 30-35.[16] A daughter was completely under her father's control and infant betrothals were frequent; a girl's father still controls her marriage negotiations. Between alternate generations, on the other hand, there is generally a relaxation of discipline and a sort of informal equality, and the same kinship term *tita* is used between them.

A certain deference is accorded to the eldest brother for it is he who, in the absence or death of his father, becomes head of the family and inherits his father's privileges and obligations. Only the eldest brother of the oldest living generation is able to perform certain rites for the dead at the family shrine and he must always perform the first ceremony at any domestic shrine set up by a younger brother who establishes a separate homestead. It is he who benefits from the bridewealth received from the first sister's marriage and is enabled to set up his own homestead first. It will be seen from Seligman's kinship tables that there are separate words for elder brother, brother, elder sister, and sister.

Affines

Parents-in-law are treated with an almost ceremonial respect and, except where exact definition is essential, they are addressed as "father," or "mother," or *gbia*[17] (chief) and not by their descriptive kinship terms. The term "mother-in-law" is extended to cover not only the wife's mother, but also all other wives of her father and their sisters. A Zande is not expected to avoid his mother-in-law, but he must not place himself in any sexually ambiguous position with a woman standing in that relationship. Adultery

between two such relatives is considered more heinous than ordinary adultery.[18]

A husband pays formal respect to his brother-in-law, who may be in a position to support his wife against him.[19] This peculiar relationship to a considerable extent explains the attitude of children towards the maternal uncle; Zande boys are privileged to raid the latter on occasion—behaviour in which, as Professor Evans-Pritchard noticed, their fathers were inclined to encourage them.[20]

MARRIAGE

Zande marriage is not a sudden act but rather the culmination of a long, cumulative series of events, each one marked by the transfer of goods from one group of kin to the other. If all goes well, this results in a permanent and indissoluble union between a man and a woman. In this context bridewealth is the mechanism through which the marriage group comes into being and "it employs gifts or payments which define the relations between the persons concerned."[21]

The first payment may be made shortly after birth and further payment continues for several years after marriage. Bridewealth is generally in spears, a total of 20 being the usual number required to establish a stable marriage—though that is not a final total and more are generally added.[22] Nowadays this is often commuted into a cash payment, but Azande still refer to marriage in terms of spears given or received. In addition the young man labours for his father-in-law, and makes gifts of general goods. During the course of the payment, and after the performance of certain simple ceremonies, the wife leaves the homestead of her father and takes up residence with her husband. Both fathers consult the poison oracle at each step in the negotiations and the man and woman themselves probably consult lesser oracles.

Both levirate and sororate are practised, and the wives of a dead man are inherited by his sons or brothers at the conclusion of the mourning ceremonies; in any case the inheritor will continue to make occasional payments to his affines.

If a wife dies without issue, it is the duty of her family to provide another wife for the husband, if possible her sister, and the husband will continue to pay bridewealth as for his first wife.

In the old days chiefs would sometimes present a deserving subject with a wife from their pool of slaves, or from the women received as compensation; sometimes a man might receive a woman as the result of a legal action.[23] In none of these cases was there any ceremony or transfer of bridewealth, though if the husband wished to cement relations with the woman's kin, he would have to make them presents.

Sometimes two fathers, who each have a son and a daughter of marriageable age, may arrange a direct exchange,[24] without the usual transfer of bridewealth. This is really an adaptation of the usual form; the usual ceremonies are held, but the death or desertion of one of the wives upsets the neat equation, and the kin of the lost wife must reimburse her husband, in the same way as if bridewealth had been transferred. The full cycle of equivalence, upon which the payment of bride-wealth is based, is not considered complete until a woman has borne a female child, when her husband knows that his kin will in return receive spears for her and reimburse themselves for their original payment. Azande recognize this cycle in law, and all liability for the return of spears in cases of divorce ceases if the woman has borne a female child to her husband's group before she leaves it. Conversely, if a woman bears a son, and has no daughter to provide that son's bridewealth, her brother is expected to provide the spears for that son's marriage, because her husband's kin group have received no equivalent for their original disbursement.

A man's first wife is senior to his others and superior in status. Lotar[25] attributes this superiority to the fact of her having been chosen by her husband's father; it is she who makes it possible for her husband to establish his home and hence his adult status.

Azande do not really consider a marriage to be stable until a child has been bom, or until the marriage, though barren, has continued for a considerable time. It is a sign of permanence when a husband takes a second wife, for in these circumstances the first marriage, except under great provocation, is indissoluble. Second marriages are not so stable.[26] The husband, if he wishes to maintain his marriage— and no Zande normally wishes otherwise—continues to make presents of spears to his parents-in-

law and, in addition, is expected to send them part of his hunting spoils, as well as his first fruits. He makes special gifts after any significant event in his married life, such as the birth of a child. Through marriage, a man obtained the personal services of his wife, enhanced prestige and status legally and socially and, in addition, the services of his wife's kin. There was thus a persisting incentive to every male Zande to acquire more than one wife, for the greater the number of families with whom he had contracted alliances, the greater the support he could summon to back him in all his affairs. Azande still obtain these advantages.[27]

DIVORCE

Divorce among the Azande was formerly rare and difficult. When a marriage was once well established, particularly a first marriage, it was considered almost indissoluble, and a broken marriage was regarded as a shameful thing. There was also a natural reluctance to destroy a carefully built up network of useful social relations.

In the old days the husband had the power to chastise his wife if she were recalcitrant, and beat her into submission.[28] If a divorce did take place 10 spears were returned if the wife had borne a male child, and 20 if she had borne no children. A husband would rarely seek a divorce, but he might do so for the following reasons: his wife's incurable idleness, persistent adultery or refusal to tend him when sick, or the refusal of his wife's kin[29] to help him obtain another wife if the first was barren. Usually, however, a husband would use such complaints as excuses for not continuing to make the expected contribution of spears, and not as reasons for getting rid of a wife.

A wife, or rather her father, might claim a divorce on the following grounds: excessive ill-treatment by the husband; that the bridewealth payments were deliberately not maintained; that the husband was rude to his parents-in-law; that any indemnity received in compensation for his wife's adultery was pocketed by him and not forwarded to the wife's father as was customary; or that he refused to assist at the interment of his wife's kin or contribute his share towards expenses.[30]

The method of divorce resembled the procedure for contracting a marriage, but in reverse. Negotiations were carried out between the father of the wife and the father or elder brother of the husband, both parties having to consent to the break and to agree about repayment of the bridewealth. If the kin agreed, the divorce was absolute; if not, the matter could be settled by the chief who, however, was most unlikely to support the wife. Indeed a wife who regularly ran away from her husband might be set in the stocks by the chief.[31]

Evans-Pritchard, Lagae, Larken, Lelong, and Lotar, all comment on the present prevalence of adultery, the restricted power of husbands, the diminishing authority of fathers and the increasing instability of marriage. Bridewealth, fixed at 120 P.T. (24s.), though still called spears, no longer involves a series of payments each of which draws the two groups closer together. Instead it is paid in two equal instalments, the first of which authorizes the couple to cohabit, the second legally establishes the marriage, "after which it is ratified at a Native Court."[32] The husband is still expected to make additional gifts of cloth and other goods to the wife's kin. Nowadays an unmarried man, or even a woman, may plead in a chief's court. Women, abetted by their fathers, often refuse to accept the second payment and, as they have very little difficulty in breaking the first part of their contract, they frequently change their men. Indeed, nowadays women whose kin have accepted both parts of the bridewealth will often take their children and leave their husbands and live with a lover. The boys will usually return to their legal father when they are older, for their standing in his household is higher.[33]

Extra-marital Relations

Zande children were taught that, properly, sexual intercourse should take place only between married couples, but extra-marital intercourse was not regarded as an offence if indulged in discreetly. Formerly, and now more frequently, society permitted "sexual incidents" at certain dances held in connection with funeral rites— so long as they occurred with discretion and not too openly. Such a relationship between a boy and girl may become more than a casual one, and then the boy calls the girl his *badiya,* makes her

small presents, and may even make gifts to her mother as well. Nowadays marriage occasionally results from such a courtship.

Legitimacy is emphasized strongly by Azande, and "if the oracle tells a husband that his wife has conceived in adultery"[34] he will flog her, pregnant as she is, without qualm, in order to ascertain the name of her lover. Lagae[35] states that formerly children born in adultery were slaves, and that in the old days a man might kill a male child which he was assured by the oracles was not his. Female children were certainly spared, for the sake of the bridewealth they would bring. The man who had married the mother with spears was the sociological father of her child, whoever might be the genitor[36] who, at its conception, supplied that part of the soul which transforms itself on death into the clan totem and eventually joins the spirits of the departed clan ancestors. A definite stigma attaches to a child bom of adultery; it will be delivered out in the bush, not in a hut, and is often brought up by the mother's father or brother, who will sue the mother's lover for compensation.[37]

It is thought to be dangerous for a woman to bear a child conceived in adultery, without confessing the fact to the midwife, who will ask her the name of her lovers and whether she has had connection with them since she become pregnant.[38]

A young man who gets with child a young unaffianced woman (which, because of the early female marriage age, is unusual) will marry her, but if he does not, the child remains with the girl's family.[39] Such an escapade might perhaps reduce a girl's bride-price, but would not be a bar to her later marriage, or to the eventual marriage of her child.

BIRTH

A pregnant wife continues working until she is ready to give birth, though she will avoid heavy labour. If the wife is detected procuring an abortion she will be beaten and her father is expected to reimburse the husband with a payment of 20 spears.[40] During her pregnancy, husband and wife both observe certain food prohibitions; in addition the husband will observe his wife's clan's prohibitions and she will observe those that his

mother observed when she was pregnant. From time to time the husband will consult the oracle to find out whether there is any danger of witchcraft. The witch-doctor is called in if the woman has any trouble before or during the birth.

The birth[41] usually takes place at the home of the husband, unless the oracles have decided that it is a dangerous place; then the wife goes to her parents' or brother's home. After the birth the husband immediately informs his wife's kin and performs certain magical rites to ward off witchcraft from the child and strengthen it. Mother and child are both secluded after birth and, during this period, must not be approached by anyone who has recently had sexual intercourse. At the conclusion of this period a feast is held. The child is brought out of the hut and is passed through the smoke of a specially prepared fire of green leaves. The kin of both parents assemble for this ceremony and, after the smoking, they sit down to a joint meal. If the wife had her child in her father's homestead, the husband has to recompense him with five spears before his wife may return. The child is not named by its parents nor is the midwife paid until it is certain that the child is hale.[42] The mother starts her field work again two or three weeks after the birth.

The birth of a child, particularly the first, marks an important stage in a Zande marriage. The social status of both parents is increased, particularly if the child is a boy, and continues to increase as the child grows up, and is perhaps followed by brothers and sisters. The personal status of the mother is raised even more than is her husband's and she will often take the name of the child, plus the prefix *na* (mother) as her own.[43] The relations between the parents undergo an adjustment; the husband is at first not allowed to have intercourse with his wife, and this is severely restricted until the child can walk.

Twins

The birth of twins is unusual but not ominous and, though one usually dies, the mother nurses them in the normal way if they live.[44] Misshapen children are treasured like sound ones.

Adoption

A Zande who is without living male issue may adopt a son, in order to ensure that he has a kinsman left after his death, to sacrifice at his *atolo* for him.[45]

STATUS

Status is fixed by the political position of the individual and this in turn is largely determined by birth, and whether or not a person is born of Avungara parents. Even women, whose status is otherwise very low, if they are Avungara have high status and are allowed a licence unheard of for a woman commoner. For instance, Avungara women married to commoners may take lovers without restraint and the husband has no legal redress. A commoner woman, as daughter, sister, or wife, is always subordinate, though if she be productive she may earn prestige and acquire increased status, and her children will respect her.

A Zande male commoner may inherit some status if he is bom an *Mbomu* (conqueror) rather than an *Auro* (conquered) but since the Azande are no longer conquering their neighbours and the conquered peoples are becoming ever more "Zandeized," this is of diminishing importance. Every Zande who lives for the full span of human life, and observes the customary modes of behaviour, performs or undergoes certain social actions and rites which progressively increase his status until, in senility, he is partially reduced to the position of a child—though not fully, for he is still respected for his grey hairs.

At birth a Zande is as nothing until he has been "smoked" and named, but from then on he increases in stature and competence. If he is the first male child of bis parents, he will increase in status at the birth of another child, for he then becomes "elder brother" (*unvuremi*). (An elder sister has similar status above her younger sisters.) From the first and through every successive payment made by his father towards his bridewealth, he increases in status, for each one brings nearer his departure from his father's homestead, and his establishment as a separate legal person.

The establishment of legal personality by marriage is the greatest leap in status that a Zande is able to make. Any other marriages he may contract will further increase his status by grading him as a man with two or three wives. The addition of an extra wife to a homestead is an economic gain for it increases the labour force, and hence the food and beer supply, at the husband's disposal; this in turn increases his opportunities to be hospitable and generous, and thereby to acquire prestige and temporary increase in status. Each wife also allies her husband to a new group of affines, who are placed under social obligations to him, which increases his social security and confirms his status. Every child of his who marries similarly allies him with other groups, and thereby adds to his status. As his social and economic position becomes thus enhanced, other groups will seek relationship with him, either through marriage ties or blood-brotherhood; and each instance of social recognition is itself an increase in status.

The persons with whom such additional social ties are made usually establish their homesteads near the person to whom they are attached and who forms their centre, and such a person may acquire political recognition of his social status and be made a deputy. Sometimes the chief's favour may induce other kin groups to contract marriage ties with a man, but fundamentally it is through the accumulation of kinship and affinal ties that a man's social status is determined. The possession of particular medicines may supplement a man's prestige and the respect in which his neighbours hold him, but they do not usually materially increase his status. As long as nothing untoward occurs a man's status increases with age.

CIRCUMCISION

Circumcision is the social recognition of personal maturity, a "rite de passage" which, by distinguishing the youth from the boy, marks an increase in status. Lagae[46] gives a detailed account of the rites which accompany the circumcision ceremony, but unfortunately only a slight explanation of their social significance. Circumcision is a recent introduction to Zandeland, having spread from the south via the Mangbetu and Abarambo; it was at first bitterly opposed by the Avungara, though it is now general and is recognised by them. An elaborate ritual has grown up

round it but the ceremony still appears to be to some extent detached from the rest of Zande life. The Mangbetu chiefs do not seem to have taken a strong line, as did the Avungara, and Junker[47] comments that they had taken to circumcision under the influence of the Arab slave traders. King Gbudwe of the Sudan bitterly opposed the practice, and de Calonne-Beaufaict[48] reports that it was not common among the Abandiya and the Anunga. The pressure for circumcision, according to Azande, came from the women, and that this should be so effective indicates their rise in status.

The age for circumcision varies, but the usual age in the north, according to Lagae, is between six and ten years, though in the south it is sometimes performed a week or two after birth, while among some of the peoples of the Mangbetu group it may be delayed until the young man goes away to the mines to work, and indeed may be done in hospital there. In the Sudan, according to Leitch, the age is 12-18 years. The particular age depends on the advice of the oracles, the collection of a sufficient number of eligible boys in a district to justify the ceremony, and the possession by the boy's father of enough grain to supply his contribution to the feast and enough spears to pay the boy's sponsor and operator. The operation always takes place in the dry season because the wound heals more quickly.

The group of sponsors of the boys of the district who are to be circumcised consult together and choose a site near a stream and away from the homestead; there they erect a hut in which the boys sleep during their period of seclusion in the bush, which lasts for about two months. The sponsors also select as operator a man of the district known for his experience and dexterity with the knife (*misio*). The operation is performed with little ceremony soon after the boys are assembled at the hut.

Before the wound is healed the boys go naked, until the final preparations for the dance have been made, when they put on a sort of short petticoat (*madada*).

While the wound is healing the boys have to remain secluded in the bush with their sponsors, and must not be approached by their parents[49] or any woman, whether related or not. During this period the kin of each boy send food for him and his sponsor, which the latter has to prepare.

During the period of seclusion a sponsor must refrain from any sexual intercourse for this would place his charge in a dangerous position. If the boy dies after the operation, his parents may accuse the sponsor of having had connection with a woman during this period and thus causing their

son's death. If this charge is supported by the oracle, then the sponsor is liable to pay damages for homicide.

When all the boys' wounds have healed, the sponsors send word to the homesteads, and the parents make ready a feast and prepare to receive the boys with appropriate rites and gifts. From this time each boy assumes the circumcision name given him by his sponsor, which may be the sponsor's own name. The evening concludes with a dance and general celebrations. The operator is presented with the gift of a spear or knife and the boy partakes of certain medicines prepared by him, which ensure that he will not suffer from any serious illness as a result of the operation. For two years after this a youth is forbidden to eat the flesh of brown-skinned animals.

After circumcision a boy is recognised as a person old enough to have sexual intercourse and his adult status is acknowledged. The relationship established between a boy and his sponsor always remains a close one[50] and the kin of both are usually closely associated.

BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD

In addition to economic, political, and kinship ties a Zande may contract ties with other groups in order to strengthen his social position. Such are the ties between blood-brothers or members of a secret society.

A Zande will often contract a sort of pseudo-kinship bond by exchanging blood with a person whom he will call *bakuremi,* which may be translated as "my blood-brother," but the relationship is not thought of by a Zande as being like a kin relationship; it is based on different principles. Even if kinship were conceived as a blood relationship, it would not be the same, for the blood swallowed has ritual properties peculiar to that situation. The slavers and early travellers in Zandeland, such as Zemio, often found it to their advantage to go through a ceremony of swallowing blood with the chiefs whose co-operation they wished to obtain.

Junker's[51] description of a ceremony for contracting blood-brotherhood agrees in essentials with Evans-Pritchard's description, upon which the following account is based.[52] Incisions are made on the arm or the chest and a confection of wood or ground-nuts *(manga)* is used to sop up the blood,

after which it is dipped in salt before being chewed with exaggerated relish. If wood is used the fibres are spat out. Spells are uttered with dramatic force, the partners sometimes beating their knives together, and sometimes twisting a hank of *bingba* grass to stress a point.

The blood in the stomach of the blood-brother is addressed in a series of apostrophes "some of which refer to actions on the part of the blood-brother which will absolve him from vengeance."[53] If either of the partners wishes for any special gift, such as tobacco, he mentions it during the address. After the ceremony each of the partners drops a gift, usually a large knife, on the floor for the other.

The blood is thought to maintain a permanent hold upon the stomach of the swallower, and if the blood-brother does not faithfully perform his duties, it will twist in his vitals as his partner twisted the grass. The swallowing of the blood, which is "a concrete magical substance,"[54] and the placing upon it of the "conditional curse"[55] are the essential elements in this ritual. If these are not correctly performed according to custom, the magical rite has no force. The fear provoked by the magical powers of the curse is the principal sanction which makes the partners observe their obligations; in this respect the belief in magic shared by the partners maintains the norms which determine a man's economic and social behaviour. "The blood hears like *benge."* Another supporting sanction is the public scorn in which a faithless blood-brother is held; moreover, as the pact is reciprocal, default by one partner is followed by default by the other, and the loss is mutual. The obligations of the pact extend also to a limited degree to the members of the clans, both paternal and maternal, of both parties.

As blood-brotherhood is essentially a legal contract and women have no independent legal status, no woman could be party to such a contract.[56] In the old days, because of the legal nature of the bond, and because the rest of a man's kin were involved, no man would exchange blood without the permission of his father or the head of his homestead, and without first consulting the oracles.

This type of contract is found 'throughout Africa, particularly among the peoples who live to the south and west of the Azande; a Zande is not restricted to making the pact only with another Zande.

The reasons for entering into such a pact may be various: for instance, two persons who have developed a friendship, from which both of them

have profited, may wish to have their relationship regularized and convert a haphazard growth into a contract formally backed by specific sanctions. Often the ends are purely commercial and mutual affection may have no part in it all, though it may develop out of it. Blood-brotherhood was the only means by which private trade between distant parts could be carried on before European administration. More usually, however, a man makes such a contract nearer to his home, with a person with whom he has more frequent contact. Then he gains much the same sort of advantages as he would from a marriage, or the marriage of one of his children, for he, and through him his group of kin, are brought into a close relationship, entailing reciprocal duties and specific behaviour patterns, with another man and another group of kin. Blood-brothers have preferential claims to the hands of each other's daughters, and are expected to be especially scrupulous about not committing adultery with each other's wives. One should send to the other the heads of any beasts he may kill; neither should privately spread ill reports about the other, particularly to the chief; and each should support the other in a quarrel.

Today the most important duties laid on blood-brothers are to assist a man's affines to dig his grave, and to contribute to the mortuary feast. If a man has to raise compensation for witchcraft, homicide, or adultery, a blood-brother must assist him; in the old days, when a man stood in danger of instant mutilation for the last offence, this help had to be immediate. Other duties, which have now largely lost their importance, were to warn the other if he had incurred the chief's displeasure, and to assist at the post-mortem on a dead brother's corpse, or the corpse of a kinsman of his.[57] There are occasional instances of one blood-brother being treacherous to another, usually by committing adultery with his wife, but such breaches are rare.

The behaviour which blood-brothers are expected to assume towards each other is the opposite of that required towards kin and in-laws, and they stand to each other in a sort of joking relationship. They abuse each other with impunity, saying things that would normally be considered causes of deep quarrels. In a modified form this joking relationship is extended to clansmen, known as *bakulemi;* and between certain clans, such as the Abanvra, Abangombi, Akalinga, and Agiti, a permanent joking relationship has grown up.[58]

Avungara seldom exchange blood, for they are all of one clan and therefore should already be prepared to assist each other; occasionally, however, they may make a pact and are not forbidden to do so within the clan, as commoners are. Neither do they normally exchange blood with commoners, for that would be to disparage themselves. Further, a Vungara stands for authority and justice while one of the purposes of blood-brotherhood is to evade legal obligations and the chief's displeasure. They did, however, at times, use it as a political measure and to facilitate the subjugation of conquered peoples.

The pact now appears to be degenerating into a sort of formal confirmation of friendship between two individuals, for many of the social situations which formerly made the bond so useful have ceased to exist.

DEATH

All serious illness and all deaths are believed by the Azande to be due to witchcraft,[59] and it is incumbent on the kin of the sufferer to search out the witch and endeavour to divert or put an end to his activity; if they fail in this, they must obtain compensation or avenge the murder. A sick man, or one who is threatened by witchcraft, will borrow poison (*benge*) from a near kinsman, such as a brother, or a close affine, such as his father-in-law (if he does not possess a stock of his own), and consult the poison oracle. If he is too sick to consult the oracle himself, he will get someone to perform this service for him. Near kinsmen and near affines are equally responsible.[60] Correspondingly, a man accused of witchcraft depends on the backing of his kin, in-laws, and blood-brothers to assist him in paying any compensation awarded against him.

The family of a dead man or woman announce the death at once by their mourning cries and by beating the mourning gong, and then immediately prepare the corpse for burial. The bark-cloth is removed, the body is washed and anointed with oil, then swathed in a wrapper of bush straw, and laid on a sort of stretcher *(kitik paid)* in the hut where death occurred. When a married person dies, the partner is stripped by the dead person's kin, and spends the night naked by the side of the corpse, abstaining from food,

drink, sleep, and speech until it is buried. The brothers and sisters of the mourner may do the same.

The corpse is interred either on the same day as the death or the day afterwards, usually at about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. The grave is dug near, but at a little distance from, the homestead.

Azande will not dig the grave or carry the body of a clan member, so that duty devolves on in-laws and blood-brothers of the deceased, who are all designated as *gbye;* they must give knives to the kin of the dead person before the actual interment. It is said by the Azande that a vague responsibility for the death attaches to the survivors, and this must be discharged by the handing over of knives by the *gbye.* The kin of the deceased (but not the spouse, who must remain behind in a hut) accompany the corpse to the grave and place two or three of the donated knives in the grave with it.

The grave itself is rectangular, oriented north and south, and about 5 to 6 ft. deep. The corpse is placed in a recess—on the east side for a woman, on the west side for a man. A man is laid on his left side, his hands against his left cheek, his legs bent, and his face turned towards the rising sun. A woman is laid on her right side, her hands under her head, her legs bent, and her face turned towards the setting sun. The body is protected from the earth by mats with which the grave is filled, and stakes of the *ngunge* or *bakayakpwa* tree.

After the burial the *gbye* go to the nearest stream to wash, and then follow the other relatives back to the homestead. There the *gbye* are rubbed with oil provided by the kin, and both parties eat together. The next day, or soon afterwards, the *gbye* come to erect a tomb over the grave consisting of a mound of clay surmounted by a thatched roof supported on stakes.[61]

Mourning

The widows or the widower, but not the children, are expected to mourn; this duty is not laid on co-wives in a polygynous household if one wife dies. The widows (or the widower) are secluded and Lagae says they are, as it were, the prisoners of the dead person's kin, to whom they have to make a series of gifts—usually a knife each time—before they may eat, drink, speak, or in any way resume normal life after the funeral. The homestead of

the dead person is abandoned after the hut he occupied has been set alight. If it is the husband who has died, the members of the homestead disperse among the other kin; if the wife, they build themselves another homestead some little distance away.

The period of mourning lasts until the murder of the dead person is declared by the chief's oracle[62] to have been avenged. During this period a mourner must keep his or her head shaved, must wear undyed bark-cloth, eat separately, and abstain from sexual intercourse. When the mourning time has expired the senior kinsman of the dead person calls on the mourner, who presents him with a gift of knives, upon which the mourning is terminated. The mourner, if a man, may then consider taking another wife from the kin of his dead wife; a woman will go and live with that kinsman of her husband who has inherited her.

The relatives of the deceased have one final and binding obligation, and that is to erect a cairn of stones over the grave. "This may take place from a year to five years after burial"[63] but it cannot be avoided. About a year beforehand the kin begin to store and grind grain for the beer required at the last funeral beer dance *(gbere buda)* which accompanies the erecting ceremony. "From this time, what we may call the feast cycle begins and continues till the concluding ceremonies a year hence. During this period from time to time dances are held, the object of which appears to be to mark the time until the mortuary feast, to remind the locality that preparations for the oncoming festivity are in progress."[64] In all the funerary ceremonies the kin of the deceased are dependent on the dead person's near affines, without whose co-operation the proper rites cannot be performed.

The death of an unmarried person is attended by much less ceremony; only the parents will mourn, and with less ostentation and for a shorter time; affines of the parents attend the ceremonies and feast, if there is one, and are responsible for carrying out the actual interment and erection of the burial mound.

Avungara Funerary Rites [65]

Chiefs have many wives, and it would be difficult for them to undergo the full mourning prescribed for commoners. When a chief's wife is ill and

the oracle declares she will die, she is moved to the home of her kin and, on her death, is buried according to the ordinary custom. The chief, as a sign of his mourning, will cut his hair, don an undyed bark-cloth and relinquish his public duties, such as settling court cases. His notables, and those who do not wish to be considered poor or mean, come to court during this period and make him presents of spears. After two or three days the kin of the dead wife come to court and urge the chief not to mourn too long, and offer him another wife; the chief accepts their advice, and hands over to them the mourning spears he has received from his subjects. The dead wife's kin arrange for her death to be avenged. The chief does not evacuate his homestead, but the woman's hut is allowed to fall into ruins.

If the son of a chief is likely to die he is taken to a homestead out in the bush away from the court; if he dies unexpectedly, his body is similarly removed, for public mourning is not allowed at court. The chief observes the same mourning as for a wife, and receives presents from his subjects in the same way, although he keeps these himself. The oracles are consulted to discover the cause of the death which is avenged in the usual way,[66] though Lagae states that in the old days the witch would be killed and his family reduced to slavery.[67]

When the chief himself is expected to die he also is carried out to a secret place in the bush which is guarded and known only to his sons and a few trusted commoners. According to tradition his successor is not allowed to visit him at this time. His death is not publicly announced, and he is quietly buried at night by a few important commoners who act as his *gbye*. The grave is dug on a remote raised spot, near to a stream, and is not of the ordinary type. A large square hole is dug about *2*½ yds. across and tapering towards the bottom to form a sort of coffin. The bottom of the grave is lined with knives and spears (in the old days, four or six of the chief's favourite wives whose limbs had previously been broken were laid in next) and on top of these is placed the chief. He is covered with more knives, spears, mats, and bark-cloths, topped by branches of the *ngunge* and *bakayakpwa* trees, and then the hole is filled with earth. In the old days any surplus earth was carefully scattered to conceal the place of burial, but nowadays a roof like that raised over a commoner's grave is usually erected over the spot, although people are still forbidden to visit it.

Formerly the news of the death gradually spread through the chiefdom and the sons of the chief then prepared for the succession struggle which

usually followed. All the kin of the chief, indeed the whole of the kingdom, assumed mourning and assembled about the court. There are no obligations on his kin to avenge the death of a chief, which is generally attributed to sorcery or cats.[68]

Nowadays the successor to a chiefdom retires into the *ngbwadimo* of his father without fear of usurpation, and consults the oracles as to the time when he shall present himself to his new subjects. On the chosen day there is general rejoicing and a great feast and distribution of gifts. The new chief then consults the oracles as to whether he should build another homestead for himself; if he does so, the homestead of the late chief is left to revert to bush, but is not burned.

Notes

1 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 15.

2 Seligman, 1932, p. 500, based on Evans-Pritchard's notes.

3 Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 15-16, and de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 185-6. According to Brock, 1918, all the Makaraka have the leopard totem, in addition to their clan totems.

4 Lagae, op. cit., pp. 28 and 33.

5 Ibid., pp. 31-43.

6 Ibid., pp. 31 and 181.

7 1926, p. 13.

8 1932, p. 501.

9 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 178; also de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, pp. 197-9. Chiefs and wealthy men with many wives ignore this prohibition.

10 Lagae, op. cit.

11 1932, p. 501.

12 Ibid., p. 560.

13 Evans-Pritchard, 16, 1933, p. 393.

14 Evans-Pritchard, 15, 1932, p. 401.

15 Seligman, 1932, pp. 507-19.

16 Lagae (6, 1926, p. 196) says 25, but not before having performed some distinguished deed in war or hunting.

17 *Gbia* properly means a noble but may be used simply as a title of respect to a commoner and in this context refers to the leader in any activity.

18 Though Seligman (1932, p. 510) quotes Azande as saying "Your mother-in-law above the waist, someone else below it."

19 Indeed it is more important to be on good terms with a brother-in-law than with a wife, for he as head of the family might break a marriage, despite the wishes of the husband and wife. See Evans-Pritchard, 17, 1934, p. 174.

20 Seligman, op. cit., p. 510.

21 Evans-Pritchard, 17, 1934, p. 172.

22 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 194. In the south the rate is higher. In all essentials, however, the Azande and Mangbetu marriage systems are the same and differences are of detail.

23 Ibid., p. 193; see also p. 56 above.

24 Ibid.

25 Lotar, 2, 1925, p. 557. Formerly the first wife was indissolubly bound to her husband. This, Lotar suggests, is related to her connection with the ancestor cult (*atolo*).

26 Lotar, op. cit., pp. 576 and 580.

27 The Belgian administration has for long opposed polygamy. Phillips reports the publication of a Government decree, bearing the date 4th April, 1950, aimed at the suppression of polygamy and to take effect from 1st January, 1951. (See *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life,* 1953.)

28 Larken, 1926, p. 5.

29 Barrenness in itself was insufficient, Larken, op. cit., p. 19; though Seligman (1932, p. 515) says "a woman is legally bound to produce a daughter as part of her duties as a wife; if she does not do so, her husband can divorce her." Usually a husband took a sister or other kinswoman as a second wife and kept his first wife.

30 Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 204-5.

31 Ibid., p. 25.

32 Phillips, 2, 1950, gives an account of the legal formulae used in the Belgian Congo which seem to be very similar.

33 Seligman, 1932, p. 517.

34 Evans-Pritchard, 15, 1932, p. 410.

35 Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 47 and 170.

36 Lagae, op. cit., pp. 47 and 176, and Evans-Pritchard, 16, 1933, p. 397.

37 Seligman, 1932, p. 517.

38 Lagae, op. cit., p. 169.

39 Larken, 1926, p. 17, and Lagae, op. cit., p. 177, footnote 2.

40 Or the equivalent of a girl child. Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 164.

41 For details see Lagae, op. cit., p. 170.

42 Evans-Pritchard, 15, 1932, p. 413; Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 172. Lagae says the child is named fairly soon after birth. Larken, 1926, p. 26, says a year or so.

43 Larken, 1926.

44 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 173. The first was always named *silo,* the second *bi.* Larken (op. cit., p. 26) says when one dies it is buried by the side of the road, and passers-by throw grass on the grave for luck.

45 See Lotar, 4, 1928, pp. 24-9

46 6, 1926, pp. 180-7.

47 1890.

48 1921, p. 199.

49 De Calonne-Beaufaict (1921, p. 201) states that a boy's father might visit him so long as he had himself remained continent for the period of his son's seclusion.

50 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 186. Lagae translates *busa* by "parrain," i.e., "godfather" which, ignoring the Christian connections, is a fair description of the relationship.

51 Junker, 1890, p. 250.

52 1 6, 1933. All information not acknowledged as from another source is from this paper.

53 p. 376.

54 p. 385.

55 p. 400.

56 Friendship pacts, as distinct from legally binding blood compacts, could be made between many people—friends, lovers, children—and in many ways, e.g., by sharing a yam, or both placing a burning brand in the same water at the same moment; see de Calonne-Beaufaict, 1921, p. 205. Women could also make the friendship pact. Evans-Pritchard, 16, 1933, p. 382, footnote 1.

57 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 388-9.

58 Ibid., p. 392.

59 See below, p. 80.

60 See Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, pp. 90-2.

61 "I think that the Azande took over the idea of stone mounds from the Bor and Mbegumba, who in their turn borrowed from the Bongo." Evans-Pritchard, 13, 1931.

62 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 26. Lagae says for several months, usually until the next dry season.

63 Evans-Pritchard, 3, 1928, p. 460.

64 Ibid., p. 461.

65 This description is based on Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 218-22.

66 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 23.

67 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 219.

68 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 33. Lagae (6, 1926, p. 222) says that the oracle is consulted and the witch privily destroyed. See below, p. 84.

VII.
Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic

Most of the reliable information about these aspects of Zande life and thought is to be found in Professor Evans-Pritchard's monograph, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande,* while more than one-third of Lagae's *Les Azande* is devoted to the same subjects. The following account is merely a brief outline of the material presented in these sources.

Belief in witchcraft, oracles, and magic colours Zande thought to such a degree that it influences all their social institutions and habits which must therefore be studied in the light of these beliefs.

The Nature of Witchcraft

Whenever any misfortune which is not readily explicable by some obvious cause overtakes a Zande he attributes it to the intervention of a malicious force which he calls witchcraft. Certain people, so Azande believe, are able to harm others, even to the extent of causing death, through the use of an inherent power which they possess. This power, though it has a corporeal source, works psychically and can only be detected, and its action countered, by magical methods. The people possessing this power are known as witches, and Azande use diviners, oracles, magic, and leechcraft, and form closed associations primarily to counter their influence.

Azande believe that "witchcraft" is a substance in the bodies of witches[1] and they know its whereabouts and what it consists of, for in the past they carried out post-mortem examinations in order to discover its presence, but

this is now forbidden. Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests the "small intestine in certain digestive periods "as the physical source. This physical thing is called "witchcraft substance "*(mangu)*.[2] As it is part of the body, even though it works psychically, it grows with the rest of the body and increases in range and potency. Hence we find that Azande will be chary about raising the wrath of an old person just in case he is a very strong witch. Children, as they cannot consult the poison oracle, are neither accused nor able to accuse others of witchcraft. Certain clans have acquired the name of being witches, but this is not held against individual members.

Both men and women may be witches and witchcraft runs in families, sons inheriting from the father and daughters from the mother. This accords with the general Zande theory of conception, but though a person may inherit the potentiality, he need not become an active witch *(bongo mangu)* so long as the substance remains cool. An accusation of witchcraft may involve close paternal kin of the witch, but not all clansmen. Kinsmen may avoid being implicated by asserting that the witch was conceived in adultery. They could also establish their innocence by carrying out a post-mortem examination to discover whether or not a man who had been condemned as a witch during his life-time really was so; this practice was strongly resented by the chiefs, and if they could put it down they did. For if no witchcraft substance was found, the chief's oracle, which had declared the man a witch, was proved wrong, and the man's family were entitled to demand return of the spears and the women they had paid in compensation. The powerful King Gbudwe forbade post-mortems on pain of death for anyone who participated.

The practice, though now forbidden, was probably used before Avungara power was fully organized, and reappeared during the anarchy which immediately followed European domination and diminished Avungara authority.

Witchcraft as the Cause of Misfortune

Witchcraft is most obviously the cause of death, but it is also the cause of a Zande's misfortunes and is an ever present and normal accompaniment to his life. If the crops are blighted, or if a seemingly sound granary collapses or a well-made pot cracks in firing, if the chief is unfriendly, or a hunt is

unsuccessful—these otherwise inexplicable happenings are diagnosed as being the result of witchcraft. Though disinterested observers may attribute a particular incident to carelessness or a fault, all Azande agree that witchcraft is in general the cause of all disasters since it brings a man into "relation with events in such a way that he sustains injury."[3] For example, when a granary collapsed and injured people who happened to be sitting beneath it, Azande recognized that it collapsed because termites had eaten into, and undermined, the supports, and they also agreed that the people were sitting under it to shelter from the rays of the sun; but they added that witchcraft caused the granary to collapse at exactly the time when the people were sitting beneath it.[4]

Witchcraft links what to us are two independent chains of causation; it explains why misfortune, which is ever present in life, comes into direct contact with the individual at a particular time.[5]

When a Zande believes himself to be bewitched he presents to the poison oracle the names of those whom he suspects, at that particular time, of having malevolent thoughts against him—those who are envious of him, or who have at some time been wronged by him. Azande are only interested in witches when they themselves are bewitched and the fact that a man has been proved a witch is not held against him, even if he has previously bewitched the sufferer. Only those who have been found guilty of two or three murders are likely to be marked men and, because of their reputation as witches, will have their names constantly proffered to the oracles. Normally, a Zande seeks to find someone who would have a motive for bewitching him and who might have wished misfortune on him. Indeed, "witchcraft becomes synonymous with the sentiments that are supposed to cause it."[6] Men bewitch others when they hate them. It is the poison oracle which decides whether or not the man who has a motive for bewitching you is actually doing so.

Though both men and women may be witches, women are not allowed to consult the poison oracle, the use of which is restricted to married men; a woman's husband, or possibly her father or brother, has to consult the oracle on her behalf. People are usually bewitched by persons of the same sex, because in Zande society the sexes, apart from husband and wife and brother and sister, mix very little socially, and there are few opportunities for enmity to arise between them. Kinsmen do not bewitch each other, for if

you accuse a kinsman, and he is proved to be a witch, you will be supposed to possess the same inherited characteristic.[7]

Avungara may not be accused of witchcraft, for this would upset the whole political structure of Zande society, in which the chief and his oracle must be stainless.[8]

Powerful men are rarely accused of witchcraft, even though they may be malicious and sullen by disposition; in general a man will lay an accusation of witchcraft only against one whose social status is the same as his own, for a man is usually afraid to accuse those above him in rank, and a wealthy man is unlikely to believe himself to be bewitched by a very poor man. Sometimes weakness., eccentricity, or social isolation may cause a poor man to be accused by an important man.[9]

Witchcraft and Moral Notions

It is through the idiom of witchcraft that Azande express those moral concepts which are not defined by the operation of law or the dogmas of religion. Every misfortune is due to the ill-will of another, therefore ill-will is socially harmful and, as well as bringing the offender into disrepute, may provoke witchcraft. Jealousy is bad, because it provokes enmity and therefore prepares the way for the operation of witchcraft.[10]

On the other hand, witchcraft is not a self-motivating force; it does not take charge of a man and make him commit crimes, and thus it is not admitted as an excuse for moral lapses.[11]

Similarly misfortune caused by carelessness or ignorance—for instance, the retribution which follows the breach of a taboo—is not attributed to witchcraft for the breach is itself an adequate social explanation of the misfortune.

Mechanism of Witchcraft

What Azande call "the soul of witchcraft (*mbisimo-mangu*) is a concept that bridges over the distance between the person of the witch and the person of his victim."[12] It is an emanation from the body of the witch,

which may easily be seen at night for it gives off a bright light, but during the daytime is only visible to those witch-doctors who have taken the correct medicines. The word *mbisimo* used by Azande to refer to the psychic part of witchcraft, and, usually translated as "soul", is used for all the non-physical, invisible and extraordinary properties of things, so that the soul which leaves the body after death is also *mbisimo;* so are the male and female forces which mould the child in the womb. The poison oracle, which has invisible but nonetheless strong and specific powers, also has an *mbisimo.*

The witch does not have to move himself in order to bewitch a victim; he remains in his hut, maybe even asleep, and dispatches his soul of witchcraft to attack the victim, which it does by removing a psychical part of his organs, known as *mbisimo pasio* (the soul of his flesh),[13] and carrying it away for the witch to devour in company with his fellow witches. It is thought that witches do not kill at once but make a series of visits to their victim, gradually eating his vital soul away, until the witch who bears him a particular grudge actually devours the final portion and the victim dies.[14] The Zande word for "to bewitch" is *no,*[15] a word which is also used for "to shoot" with bow and arrow or gun, and a witch may shoot objects, known as *ahu mangu,* into the bodies of his victims, causing pain; a witch-doctor, in his "role of leech, will be summoned to extract the offending objects, which may be material objects or worms and grubs."[16]

Counter-action

If the victim of witchcraft, or his kin, consults the poison oracle and discovers the witch, they can confront him and persuade him to blow water on the wing of a fowl to "cool" his witchcraft, and thus save their kinsman from death. If the witch consents to do so and the victim recovers, all is well; if he refuses and the victim dies, then the kin work vengeance magic against the witch so that he in his turn will die.

A sick Zande may also escape death by withdrawing into the bush, for the soul of witchcraft has a limited range and it is possible to flee from it. "Witchcraft needs, moreover, conscious direction"[17] and if the victim hides the witchcraft may be unable to find him.

One of the reasons why Azande like to live in homesteads separated from each other in the bush, is to keep out of close range of witchcraft.

Witches themselves are not immune from witchcraft, so that even if he is fortunate enough to escape the vengeance magic of his victim's kin, the witch will himself sooner or later be killed by another witch or by a sorcerer.

When witches die their ghosts may turn into "evil ghosts"[18] (*agalisa*), but opinion varies upon this point.

Action of Murdered Victim's Kin

When a death is found to be due to witchcraft, it is the socially recognized duty of the murdered man's kin to find out the witch and then avenge themselves upon him. In the past this might have been done by having the witch executed (but this was most unusual unless the witch was an old offender or socially very isolated), by accepting compensation,[19] or by using lethal magic; in these ways the death could be avenged without promoting deep rancour between the two groups of kin concerned, and without disrupting the political structure.[20] Homicide by witchcraft only occurred within the chiefdom and usually between near residents, for the effective range of witchcraft is limited, and within the chiefdom there was a commonly recognized apparatus for enforcing legal sanctions against it.

The Conscious Agency of Witchcraft

Generally Azande will not allow that a man can be a practising witch and yet be unaware of it. They insist that a witch is fully conscious of what he is doing and morally guilty of it. Yet no one will confess to being a witch and those accused of witchcraft are surprised that such intentions are attributed to them. Since Azande are interested only in each individual manifestation of witchcraft, and the implications and difficulties arising from a general theory do not arise, the individual accused considers his own case as peculiar and special and one in which there is some error. In the same way,

a witch-doctor believes that other witch-doctors are capable of performing the magic which he himself has not the power to do.

Few men escape an accusation of witchcraft during their lives but though a man will deny that he is a witch he is prepared to recognize that he might possess the potentiality to become one and therefore when accused he will go through the customary actions indicating his goodwill towards the man suffering from witchcraft. The individual does not discuss the matter with friends or kinsmen[21] and, proceeding on his own experience entirely, he can only think that the accusation is wrong, or that he is a witch unwittingly, or that the oracle has been tampered with, or that his accusers are lying about it.

Dreams and Witchcraft

Dreams to a Zande are not fantastic but real events experienced by his soul. There is a body of stock dream interpretations from which he extracts a particular meaning to suit his individual circumstances. "Azande distinguish between witchcraft dreams and oracular dreams."[22] Witchcraft dreams are actual experiences of bewitchment and comprise any sort of bad dream or nightmare. Oracular dreams are usually pleasant, being independent journeys made by the soul, from which the future may be foretold. These distinctions are not rigidly exclusive, and the classification of a dream may be altered by later events in the life of the dreamer. If a man has a number of witchcraft dreams he will go to a blood-brother, a relative or friend and ask him to consult the rubbing-board oracle to discover the witch. This will be checked by his own poison oracle, put to the deputy's oracle, and the witch will then be informed.

Azande also use magic whistles and body medicines to protect themselves from the attacks of witches while they sleep.

Gall-bladder Men and other Agencies of Misfortune

Certain men are supposed to possess a power analogous to, but nevertheless different from, witchcraft. These are known as "men of the gall

bladder" (*aboro kikpa)* because they have particularly large gall bladders and therefore tend to be quarrelsome, spiteful, envious, and unforgiving. If a man is spiteful and misfortune follows, witchcraft is at work. If no misfortune follows and the man still remains spiteful this may be put down to gall bladder.

Sexual aberrations are believed to cause misfortune to those who view them and menstruating women are also possible agents of misfortune,[23] as are people who cut their upper teeth first.[24] Azande recognize certain happenings as evil omens, such as a cock laying an egg, the shooting of a guinea fowl with a bow and arrow* or a certain type of red ant entering a hut. They are not, however, treated as important.

Azande also believe that certain animals may possess witchcraft, but they do not often consider them seriously.[25] Most nocturnal animals are associated with witch craft, especially bats and owls—particularly a type known as *gbuku* whose cry is a sure indication that witches are about. Jackals are known as harbingers of death. Particularly feared are wild-cats, known as *adandara,* which are supposed to have sexual relations in the bush with women who later bear a litter of *adandara* kittens. The sight of the women or cats may provoke a serious illness and there are special medicines against their effects. The death of chiefs is attributed to cats or sorcery.

WITCH-DOCTORS[26]

The Azande consider that witch-doctors are able both to divine the presence of witchcraft and to counter it with magic.

A witch-doctor is a professional specialist who possesses *avare,* which enables him "to dance *avare"*[27] or "dance the questions,"[28] and then to divine the action and location of witchcraft. He does not have communion with the Supreme Being or the spirits of the dead, but possesses his powers solely by virtue of having eaten certain medicines in a correct manner; the possession of this knowledge (for which an initiate pays) distinguishes witch-doctors from other specialists.[29] In addition to having swallowed the correct medicines, a successful witch-doctor must also possess *mangu* (the

word used for both the corporeal "witchcraft substance "found in the bodies of witches, and the psychic emanation which actually injures their victims). Witch-doctors hold that their *mangu* is quite different from that possessed by witches, and is a substance artificially created by the medicines they take. The "witchcraft phlegm"[30] which they expectorate is supposed to derive from their *mangu.*

In his capacity of diviner a witch-doctor is equivalent to an oracle, and Azande consult witch-doctors about the same sort of problems, but the answers of a witch-doctor have no legal standing and have to be confirmed by the poison oracle. However, a witch-doctor has the advantage that, in his capacity of *binza* or leech, he can counter witchcraft as well as locate it.

The training of a witch-doctor is long and expensive, and practitioners form an esoteric corporation which jealously guards its secrets from outsiders.

As a rule only men become witch-doctors. Though older women, particularly widows, occasionally acquire the medicines, they seldom co-operate in public demonstrations with men, and usually only practise as leeches among other women. Avungara do not become witch-doctors because they would lose prestige by eating and sharing other activities with commoners.[31] Likewise, important commoners do not practise.

Though the most knowledgeable witch-doctors tend to become leaders, there is no institutionalized organization or leadership among them. Those witch-doctors who live near together may form a corporation; and there is always a *gbia* (leader) of the group, who is distinguished from the others by his personality, age, and knowledge of medicines. But important as a witch-doctor is in his ritual capacity as a fighter of witchcraft, and powerful as he may become as a result of the economic rewards of his profession, people only treat him as a witch-doctor when he is practising as one, and he enjoys no added status or respect in other spheres of social life.

Witch-doctors may divine alone, but usually several join forces. Seances are held publicly, at the request of someone who is unfortunate or ill and believes he is bewitched; they usually become social occasions, thronged by the neighbours and relatives of the homestead head who called the seance. Members of the audience may use the opportunity to ask questions of the assembled witch-doctors. The giver of a seance is expected to extend hospitality to those who attend and, from the performance, he gains social prestige which the oracle cannot give although it has the advantage of being

less expensive. A public seance also serves to warn off the witch. Witch-doctors try to avoid making direct accusations because they do not wish to make personal enemies who will bear a grudge against them after the seance.

During the performance the witch-doctors chant and sing themselves into a frenzy, until they have discovered the witchcraft that is threatening. If they are dancing for a sick man they apply medicines to the afflicted part, usually in the form of packs and poultices, which they will then remove to reveal pieces of bone, stone, maggots, or such foreign matter, as proof that they are ridding the sufferer of his affliction. They may also as an exhibition "shoot" objects into members of the audience.[32]

When a chief calls in a witch-doctor the performance is much more dignified and the court is set as for the hearing of legal cases. The witch-doctor only dances to answer the chief's queries and he is always respectful, for it is a signal honour to dance before a chief and confers added prestige.

Many Azande are sceptical about the powers claimed by some witch-doctors, though they do not doubt the existence of witchcraft or the powers of certain of the medicines used.[33] They are aware that a large number of witch-doctors are charlatans and concerned mainly with obtaining fees. The failures of particular witch-doctors can be explained as due to individual incompetence or to counter-magic.[34] Faith in witch-doctors seems to have declined since European occupation and as a result of the increasing number of practitioners, due to the fact that magical secrets are more easily obtained today.[35]

LEECHES, LEECHCRAFT, AND SICKNESS

The belief that witchcraft is responsible for all illness must not be forgotten when considering Zande therapeutic medicine, although other contributory causes are acknowledged—usually the matter-of-fact events which we should consider as the main or only causes. To combat the physical grounds or causes of illness they have an enormous pharmacopoeia,[36] and every malady has its appropriate medicines.

For the cure of minor ailments Azande rely on their own drugs and, though they believe that they would not be suffering at all were it not for someone's ill-will, they set out to cure the illness without bothering to discover who caused it. If, however, the complaint gets worse, steps are taken against the witch who is believed to be responsible. An oracle is consulted and the sick man retires to a secret shelter in the bush to hide from the witchcraft of his enemy. There he is tended only by close relatives and is treated in accordance with the advice of a leech who may or may not be a witch-doctor. If the patient becomes weaker, he or his relatives consult the poison oracle, or call in a witch-doctor to hold a seance and dance for him. Medicaments are still used, and fresh ones may be tried, but the main battle is fought against the powers of the witch, who may be accused, directly or indirectly, and urged to desist from his activities.

Azande diagnose sudden and acute illness and sudden death as the effect of sorcery *(kitikiti ngua)*;[37] and, though therapeutic methods may be used, the victim or his kin concern themselves primarily with discovering the mystical cause and diverting it by persuading the sorcerer to remove his magic.

At times an affliction may be seen as resulting from a previous social situation of the afflicted person—for instance, a wrong done by him to another—and it is concluded that the aggrieved party is using magic against him and will have to be sought out and asked to desist. If a man who is working vengeance magic for the death of a kinsman falls ill, his relatives will conclude that he has broken one of the taboos necessitated by his position and that his magic has turned back upon him.[38] Illness may also be attributed to seeing cats—in which case a witch-doctor specializing in anti-cat magic is called upon.

Congenital disease, madness and other inexplicable conditions are attributed to *Mbori,* the Supreme Being.

Classification of Diseases

Zande knowledge of physiology is crude and their only form of surgery is by massage. Diseases are classified by their symptoms and not by their

causes and a disease which has many different symptoms is known by as many different names.[39]

Treatment

Cures are determined by symptoms. For instance one cure for elephantiasis of the scrotum is an application of the pulp of the fruit of the sausage tree,[40] presumably because the sausage fruit looks something like an enlarged scrotum. Azande distinguish many different maladies for which they have many different drugs.[41] But no drug works, or is expected to work, solely because of its medicinal powers, for Azande do not make any clear division between the action of drugs in attacking the disease and their action in attacking the witchcraft, witchcraft and disease being congruent aspects of one condition.

Any treatment, to be successful against mystic forces, must contain mystical elements. The soul of the medicines is expected to "seek out and destroy the 'soul' of the disease which is destroying the 'soul' of an organ."[42] Indeed, the action of most Zande drugs is purely ritual, and would not bear experimental testing though some are incidentally successful against burns and cuts.

ORACLES[43]

The Benge or Poison Oracle

Oracles, particularly the *benge* or "poison" oracle, play an important part in Zande life.

Benge is the Zande name for a reddish powder, a strychnine type poison, obtained by drying and scraping out the roots of a particular plant which grows in Mangbetu and Abarambo lands on the banks of the great Uele River.[44] For a northern Zande the collection of *benge* entails a long journey through difficult country occupied by the Mangbetu and Abarambo who, in

the old days, were particularly fearsome cannibals.[45] Chiefs as well as sub-chiefs and deputies used to organize expeditions[46] which carried dog's teeth, ivory, girls, and other gifts to the chiefs of the land they visited.[47] Often they made compacts of blood-brotherhood with the people who lived in the *benge* area, or on the route to it, to try and ensure their own safety. But the expedition was always perilous, and many parties never returned. Azande might also take advantage of such visits to acquire by barter commodities such as spears, the broad-bladed knives of the Mangbetu which were emblems of deputyship, and a sort of red cosmetic paste.[48] Nowadays, because of political and medical restriction of movement, *benge* has to be smuggled into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but the chiefs facilitate the traffic and exchange spears for *benge* with their relatives on the other side of the border.

A Zande who goes to collect *benge* has to observe several irksome taboos; he must abstain from sexual intercourse, must not rub himself with oil, nor eat the flesh of dark-skinned animals, elephant, or fish, or certain favourite vegetables which have a "loosening" effect, and the *benge* itself must only be carried in certain ways.[49] Unless the taboos are strictly observed the *benge* will be useless, for it is not merely a poison, but a ritual substance, which can only work if it is properly handled, and addressed. It works because of its ritual, not its chemical, properties. In the past *benge* was always tested before it was brought back to the chief and again on its arrival by the *puta benge* or tester.[50]

Consultation of the Poison Oracle

Whenever a Zande is in doubt what to do, he consults the oracles. When it is an important matter he, or his kinsmen, consult the poison oracle; if it is of minor importance, or he cannot obtain *benge,* a man consults one of the other oracles. Questions about serious sickness or death are always addressed to *benge*, for only *benge* has the power to fight witchcraft and it is incorruptible; other oracles may make mistakes, *benge* never.[51]

Only the poison oracle has legal status, and the decision of the chief's oracle in legal cases is final (see above, pp. 55-59). A Zande commoner consults the oracles whenever he believes himself to be bewitched, when he

contemplates taking a wife, or going on a journey, or is anxious about his wife's safety when she is pregnant, indeed, in any situation which demands a choice between different courses of action, one of which might bring misfortune in its train.[52]

Chiefs consult the oracles, not only for private reasons, but also before making public decisions, such as whether and when to go to war, before moving their courts, and so forth.

The Administration of Benge

The fowls are handed to the operator and the rest of the people sit at a distance if they have not observed the necessary taboos. One of the party acts as questioner. *Benge* powder is mixed with water and the operator holds a fowl between his toes by its wings[53] and squeezes some *benge* down its throat, shaking its head up and down so that it cannot avoid swallowing it. Then the questioner, who sits opposite the operator, starts to address the fowl, and in about another two minutes the operator administers another dose, following it with a third if the fowl is a large one. The questioner meanwhile reiterates his question in different forms, but always speaking to the *benge* inside the fowl, and always ending with one of the two forms of words: "if such is the case, poison oracle kill the fowl," or "if such is the case, poison oracle spare the fowl."[54] When the last dose has been administered, the questioner works up to an oratorical climax, orders the operator to release the fowl, and, still talking, closely observes the movements of the bird. Some fowls vomit and die in a spasm almost immediately, some die shortly afterwards, and others seem to be unaffected by the poison. If the fowl dies a wing is cut off to use as evidence;[55] if it lives it is taken home to be used another day. Fowls are never used twice on the same day.

Though the addresses to the *benge* conform to a common pattern there are no set forms of words; it is the responsibility of the questioner to inform the *benge* fully on the subject under investigation, including the identity of the person who requires an answer.

The people present at a consultation are serious and respectful in manner and speech throughout. To obtain a decisive answer two tests with two

chickens must be carried out, known as *bambata sima* and *gingo* respectively. If in the first test the fowl dies, then in the second the question is so framed that for the answer to tally the second must live. If both fowls live or both die, the answer is invalid and the question has to be asked again at another consultation.

Sometimes, if the matter is not very important, or if the answer to the first test was clear beyond doubt, or is corroborated by other means, the questioner will not demand a second test.

In the past, on veiy rare occasions, a man who had been found guilty by the fowls of a serious crime and still denied his guilt, might swallow *benge* himself.

Azande consider that the contradictory verdicts show that the proper working of the *benge* is being disturbed by the intervention of other powers and that rather than give a wrong answer *benge* gives an ambiguous one.[56] In addition they recognize several causes that may upset the oracle, such as breach of a taboo, operation of witchcraft, etc. Azande hold that the amount of *benge* administered is not important; what matters is its mystical potency. Appeal may always be made to the poison oracle of the chief (and in the old days, to the oracle of the king)[57] if interference is suspected.

The Azande do not as a rule ask *benge* questions the answers to which are easily tested by experience.[58] A man will ask if he will be in danger from witchcraft if he moves to a new district, and if the poison oracle answers "Yes!" he does not go; or he will ask if his marriage will be successful, and if the poison oracle says "No!" he does not get married, or postpones his marriage until the poison oracle agrees to it. Questions that require a detailed answer are not asked, for a man does not trouble the oracle with such trivial matters.

The Termites Oracle (Dakpa)

This oracle is cheap, easy to operate and women and even children may use it. Restrictions are not so rigorous as for *benge* but it requires a night to work and is not held in such esteem as the poison oracle. It is often used as a preliminary to the latter.

The questioner goes to a termite mound near his home towards evening, cuts a branch of the *dakpa* and *kpoigo* shrubs, disturbs the top of the mound so as to expose one of the big tunnels used by blind termites, and then, holding a branch in each hand, addresses the termites much as he would address the poison oracle. He will urge them, if such and such is the case, to eat the one branch and spare the other. Then he inserts the sticks into the mound and returns home.

The next morning the questioner returns to discover the answer of the oracle; he wraps the sticks in leaves and takes them home where he places them as evidence in his ghost shrine or in the eaves of his hut or on the verandah.[59] The termites often do not give clear answers; for instance, they may eat both branches or eat none, in which case they are said to be hungry or tired and refusing to answer. If the termites have eaten the two branches unevenly the questioner will construe the verdict as a qualified one, "leaning towards a negative or affirmative according to the terms of question."[60]

Azande are prepared to accept ambiguous answers to questions put to the *dakpa* oracle, as they have not "the social importance of those put to the poison oracle."[61]

The Rubbing-board Oracle (Iwa) [62]

The rubbing-board is the most frequently used oracle, and is referred to in matters urgently needing an answer and in situations of minor importance which do not warrant the trouble and expense of the "poison oracle." It may be asked several questions at one sitting and is often used as a preliminary before consulting the "poison oracle." It has no legal status whatever.

The board[63] has two parts, the "female," or the flat surface of the table supported by two legs and a tail, and the "male," or piece which fits the surface of the table like a lid. They vary in size but most are small enough to be carried round in a bag by the owner.[64] When the oracle is to be consulted the owner places the board on the ground in front of him and grates some wood or squeezes some fruit juice over the table. Next he dips the lid in a gourdful of water and applies it to the table, jerking it backwards and forwards over the table. Sometimes the lid sticks and has to be forcibly

lifted from the table. Smooth sliding and firm sticking are the two opposite responses of the oracle to the questions asked. The Azande class it for reliability with the evidence of witch-doctors.[65]

The Three-sticks Oracle (Mapingo)[66]

This is the principal oracle of the Mangbetu and Abarambo.[67] It consists of carefully balanced piles of sticks, some of which fall when a disturbance is made. The answer to a question is inferred from the number of sticks which fall.

According to Lagae, this oracle is used in a variant form by some Azande in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but very little in the Congo. Among Azande of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan this oracle is treated as the oracle of women and children, and the latter become accustomed to oracular consultation through using it.

There are various other minor oracles, and dreams which foretell the future in a desirable way are regarded as oracular.

TYPES OF MAGIC

All Zande magical techniques are similar in character and depend on the efficacy of a particular medicine used with appropriate ritual in a particular situation.[68] In the old days Zande public opinion recognized two different types of magic, one moral, legal, and "good," which only harmed persons who had committed a crime; the other immoral, criminal, and "bad," which was directed against an individual whom the worker of magic wished to harm.

There are many types of good magic which may or may not be destructive, and though some magical practices are despised as *auro*[69] habits, most Azande know certain old-established Mbomu medicines used in leechcraft, hunting, and so forth. *Bagbudama,* the most destructive and respected "good "medicine, is only resorted to when the user has no other method of obtaining legal redress. The kin of a man who has been killed by

witchcraft are bound to avenge his death and, as they can no longer obtain compensation for witchcraft, they have to use vengeance magic against the witch. They usually purchase this secretly from a witch-doctor, though everyone suspects that they have done so, because while they are in mourning it is their duty. The magic is directed against the killer of their kinsman, whoever he may be, for *bagbudama* is not only a death-dealing agent, but also, by virtue of its "soul "(*mbisimo*), an impartial judge, which searches out the witch and destroys him. Azande compare it to *benge* and say, "it judges equitably," and "it decides cases."[70]*Bagbudama* will not slay an innocent man, because it acts in support of the moral conventions, and would turn against anyone who abused it. After the poison oracle has confirmed the death of the witch, the user of *bagbudama* quickly destroys it, in case it turns on him. "Good" magic is nowadays the "chief foe of witchcraft," and it implements the findings of the poison oracle.

Sorcery

"Bad" magic or sorcery is only used by spiteful persons who have no grounds for regular legal action. It is powerful and greatly feared, even by Avungara chiefs and kings, who, though they are immune from witchcraft, are frequently victims of sorcery.[71] Sorcery like witchcraft is an illegal force. The sorcerer uses no rites or spells, but exerts his inherited psycho-physical powers.

No Zande will confess to knowing about sorcery, and it is hard to discover its action. According to Evans-Pritchard, the most potent sorcery is known as *menzere,*[72] the medicine for which is "probably derived from an arboreal parasite" though its action is entirely mystical. It is held in great abhorrence by Azande and, in the past, a sorcerer found guilty of working *menzere* was always put to death. *Menzere* is diagnosed by the swiftness and violence of its attacks. There are recognized antidotes, known only to certain specialists. Like other mystical forces, it works by virtue of its "soul" (*mbisimo*) and cannot travel far.

Magicians

Some witch-doctors specialize in magic which they retail, generally in the form of doctored whistles, amulets, and charms. All magic is individually owned and may be purchased. It is a male prerogative and women do not use it, though they may practise in a small way as witch-doctors or leeches. Most of the magic medicines are owned by older men, but the possession of medicines does not carry prestige. Indeed, sophisticated Azande of the court as a rule avoid associating themselves too closely with magic, for fear of being accused of sorcery, and tend to look down on provincials who make a show of their magic whistles and other paraphernalia.

Zande beliefs in witchcraft, oracles, and magic are mutually supporting, the initial belief in the power of witchcraft providing the background against which the others function. To protect himself from witchcraft, a Zande has to have recourse to oracles to discover it, and magic to combat it. Witch-doctors participate in all three of these mystical forces; they smell out witchcraft because of the virtue of their own *mangu* (witchcraft) and the magical properties of the medicines they have swallowed, which also fight against it. If the original premises are accepted, Zande actions directed to the manipulation of unseen powers by mystical means are reasonable. Responses to witchcraft, oracles, and magic provide a schema of moral values by which Azande can order their lives. They provide explanations for every situation in life, and guides to the appropriate behaviour in these situations. They are therefore mechanisms of social control.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE PRACTICE OF MAGIC[73]

Secret societies have spread from the south and west and prospered all over Zandeland since European administration. They are nevertheless not indigenous institutions and are still "subterranean and subversive." In the past they were suppressed by the chiefs, and Lagae[74] suggests that the Congo chiefs would have eliminated them completely but for the diminution of their powers by the Administration. In the Sudan few secret societies were known under Gbudwe (d. 1905) and they were so persecuted that they had only a small clandestine following. By 1919 their influence

had increased so much that the Sudan Government felt impelled to make "The Unlawful Societies Ordinance "for the suppression of dangerous and obscene rites. The Congo authorities had taken action some time before 1915. Official opposition, however, served to direct the purpose of the societies "against the vagaries of European rule "so that they flourished as centres of opposition to European occupation.

The magic and rites of each society have always been secret and acquired by its members only after initiation and payment, but formerly the actual existence of the societies was not kept secret, nor did the members conceal their purpose or meeting places. As a sign of membership *Mani* members used to wear a blue bead. Later, government persecution forced the societies to keep not only their rites but also their membership and very existence secret.

The largest associations were *Biri, Mani, Nando, Kpira, Siba,* and *Wanga,* of which *Biri (N'Bili)* and *Mani (Imani)* were the most important. All appear to have a similar organization though there are differences in aims and techniques. The principal aim of the societies is to procure "à ses membres une immunité vis-à-vis de Tautorité établie,"[75] which means that they oppose the established order, though developing and functioning within that order.

The Mani Society

Before the *Mani* society was made illegal, members used to meet in the bush[76] near a stream, where they had erected a small shelter to protect the pot and medicines. Around this, in a clear space, they performed their rites and danced. Nowadays they meet secretly at the homestead of one of the prominent members of the society. The magical impedimenta are kept hidden among the members. Each lodge has a leader known as *boro-basa* or *gbia ngua*, the "Man of the Lodge "or "Master of the Medicines," who is also usually the founder of the lodge. He holds his position by virtue of his knowledge of the magical techniques, which he has been taught in return for payment by the head of another lodge. Each lodge is independent and is formed and recruited on a local basis, most of its members being connected by various kinship and social ties. Heavy payments are required before a man who aspires to lodge leadership can acquire sufficient knowledge to

merit such a position. The leader is, however, able to recompense himself for his expenses by instructing the junior members of his lodge in their craft. He also receives a gift from every initiate.

Each lodge has three junior officials: the *kenge* (cook) has charge of the cooking of the medicines; the *uze* (stirrer) superintends lodge business and rules; the *furushi* acts as sentry. All members call themselves *Aboro Mani, "* People of Mani," in opposition to "outsiders "(*fio*). Members have a secret greeting but it is usually restricted to lodge meetings.

Within the society there are progressive grades, each distinguished by its own name and medicine; these are: water *mani* (ordinary initiate); blue bead *mani* (full member); and night or cut-throat *mani* (those who possess a very strong medicine that breaks the neck of any who seek to injure its owner). There may also be other grades of local importance, created by the magic introduced from a foreign source.

Women and young people may join if they can find a sponsor and raise the initiation fee, and the proportion of the two sexes in the society is about equal. Women may even become leaders. Young children may not be full members, but may attend meetings with their mothers. This recognition of the socially under-privileged groups—i.e., women, the young, and the unmarried—is a revolutionary feature of the society's organization, and the most obvious sign of the social changes of which the society itself is a symptom. Older men and men of some status seldom join a society and formerly never did; the mass of the members are youths, maidens, and young married couples.[77] The impassable status barrier between Avungara and commoner makes the societies essentially commoner groupings often working against authority. Nevertheless, the Avungara chiefs now tolerate the presence of the societies and some even encourage them.

Mani constantly cuts across accepted social and political divisions and contravenes accepted custom in relation to sex, age, class, and also the agreed division of magic into "good" and "bad."[78] These revolutionary features were the reason for the earlier opposition of the chiefs, to which they were urged by their senior advisers.

The Biri Society

Lagae suggests a Mayogo origin for this society which is strong among the Mangbetu, Abarambo, and southern peoples. At one time opposed by the Azande, particularly the chiefs, it is now common, though officially prohibited, throughout Zandeland. As with the *Mani* the aim appears to be to protect its members against the mischances of Avungara or European rule. Both sexes may join. The society uses more potent medicines than does the *Mani* and the members meet in the bush in a large hut where formerly a fire was constantly kept burning. Around this meeting hut were built straw shelters for initiates, used also by the old members when they came to meetings. This clearing with the huts was known as *basa,* the name given to the temporary camp of boys undergoing circumcision. Meetings were accompanied by dances and beer drinking. There are several grades of membership and officials. According to Lagae[79] the initiation ceremonies are much more arduous than for the *Mani* society. The ordeals might take several weeks, during which the novice remained secluded at the *basa.* After initiation the member is allowed to partake of the potent *nzula* medicine[80] which confers protection against the magic of others and the power to strike another person. If a member betrays the society the medicines in his stomach, like the blood of a blood-brother, will strike him. The magic whistles of this society are reputed to be particularly powerful. New members must observe certain food prohibitions and must labour for their sponsors and for the head of the lodge, to whom they also make regular payments.

The head of a *Biri* lodge performs more legal functions than does the head of a *Mani* lodge and the sexual freedoms of its members are more frank.

The Wanga Society

Lagae states that this society originated in the Sudan and its medicines are particularly associated with elephant-hunting magic.[81] Otherwise its aims and organization are much the same as those of the *Biri* society, though initiation is less arduous.

Notes

1 Baumann (2, 1928) examines the distribution of this belief which is common to many peoples of West Africa—the Azande being the most north-easterly people to share it. See map, p. 83.

2 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 9.

3 Ibid., p. 68.

4 Ibid., pp. 69-70.

5 Ibid., p. 70.

6 Ibid., p. 107.

7 Ibid., p. 32. Evans-Pritchard only heard of one instance.

8 See section on political organization, pp. 48-65 above.

9 Evans-Pritchard, p. 113.

10 Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, p. 113.

11 Ibid., p. 74.

12 Ibid., p. 33.

13 Ibid., p. 35.

14 Sudden death is usually attributed to sorcery. (See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 38.)

15 Ibid., p. 37.

16 Ibid., p. 38.

17 Ibid., p. 36.

18 Ibid., p. 39.

19 Twenty spears and a woman.

20 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 26.

21 Ibid., p. 120.

22 Ibid., p. 135; other kinds of dreams are also distinguished.

23 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 51.

24 Ibid., pp. 57-9.

25 Ibid., p. 51.

26 Ibid., Part II. Evans-Pritchard gives a detailed account of training of witch-doctors and of their seances.

27 Ibid., p. 149.

28 Ibid., p. 178.

29 Ibid., p. 157; cf. Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 96-7, who also stresses this.

30 Lagae, op. cit., p. 9.

31 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 155.

32 This technique is one of the last to be revealed to an initiate.

33 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 194.

34 Ibid, p. 183.

35 In the old days there were seldom more than two or three witch-doctors in a chiefdom, for chiefs discouraged charlatans, who might run the risk of execution. Now there may be a score.

36 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 479.

37 Ibid., p. 506, and see above, p. 80.

38 Ibid, p. 507. The relatives of the sick man will pay the specialist who has made the magic on his behalf to destroy its potency.

39 Ibid., p. 480.

40 De Graer, 1929, pp. 389-90.

41 Ibid., pp. 391-408 and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 482.

42 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 492.

43 Like the rest of this chapter this section is based primarily on Evans-Pritchard, 24, 1937, particularly Part III. Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 83-104, gives good descriptions of the oracles and methods of using them. See also pp. 56-9 above.

44 Lagae (6, 1926, p. 85) states that there are two types of *benge; nawada* and *benge andene,* named after the birds who die when they eat the flowers of the plant; the latter is the potent and reliable sort, and the former has to be used fresh.

45 Old Azande would tell Evans-Pritchard of the terrifying journey, and the Abarambo shouts of "*nombi, nombi "—"* meat! meat!"

46 Lagae, op. cit., p. 86, says that in the old days, when there was a great deal of fighting, chiefs were afraid to send large parties, but that later they did. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 277, doubts if the Zande chiefs were ever so timorous. See also Evans-Pritchard, 2, 1928, p. 4.

47 Junker (1890, p. 463) records that Chief Mbio sent 15 loads of ivory to Chief Ansea in return for *benge*, but Evans-Pritchard (24, 1937, p. 277) suggests that this is an exaggeration.

48 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 278.

49 Ibid., p. 272, and Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 86-8.

50 Lagae, op. cit., p. 87.

51 Though even *benge* may be influenced by witchcraft, and certain men are supposed to possess a sort of magic, which can influence the decision of *benge* in legal cases.

52 Evans-Pritchard (op. cit., pp. 216-2) gives a full list of such situations.

53 See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., plates XIX and XX.

54 Ibid., p. 295.

55 Ibid., pp. 299-301.

56 Ibid., p. 330. "The fact that the oracle is wrong when it is interfered with by some mystical power shows how accurate are its judgements when these powers are excluded."

57 *Benge* itself is referred to as a chief. "En interrogeant le poison benge, le Zande lui donne le titre de chef." Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 141.

58 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 340. “It does not occur to him to test the oracle experimentally unless he has grave suspicions about a particular packet of poison.”

59 Ibid., p. 357. He also does this with wings from the poison oracle chickens.

60 Ibid., p. 357.

61 Ibid., p. 355.

62 Ibid., pp. 359-377. It is said to be of Amiangba origin.

63 Ibid., pp. 362-4.

64 For an account of the making of the board, including the ritual accompaniments, see Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 370 ff.

65 Ibid., p. 360.

66 Ibid., pp. 358—9; Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 96.

67 Lelong, 1946, refers to it frequently and illustrates it in both forms. See also Junker, 1890, pp. 246-7. He spells *mapingo* as *mapinge.*

68 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 441. Magic does not depend on “any power outside” the medicine and the rite.

69 i.e., subjugated peoples (see Section III, pp. 26-41 above).

70 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 388-9.

71 A chief seldom accepts a gift until he has checked, by the poison oracle, whether or not it contains the medicines of a sorcerer. Evans-Pritchard (p. 394) instances the case of Bazugba who was judged guilty of using sorcery against his father, Chief Bafuka, and had to flee King Gbudwe’s kingdom, only escaping with his life because of his high rank as a grandson of Gbudwe. See also Evans-Pritchard, 12, 1931.

72 24, 1937, pp. 392—4. Lagae (6, 1926) refers to the *mbih* as the most potent sort of *menzere. Menzere* is said to be of Amadi origin.

73 This account is based largely on Part IV, chap. IV, pp. 511-39, of *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic.* See also a detailed account in *S.N.R.,* XIV, 1931, “Mani, A Zande Secret Society.”

74 6, 1926, p. 117.

75 Lagae, 6, 1926, p. 120.

76 For a description of a police raid on such a lodge, see Spence, 1921, pp. 205-28.

77 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 520-2.

78 Ibid., pp. 514-16.

79 6, 1926, pp. 126-7.

80 Concocted from the powdered bark of the *vundiyo* tree.

81 Evans-Pritchard (op. cit., p. 510) confirms the hunting magic but not the Sudan origin.

VIII.
Zande Religion[1]

The various accounts of Zande religious beliefs differ as to the relative importance of the constituent elements and the general importance of religion in Zande life.

THE TUKA

When a Zande establishes a new homestead he erects in the centre of it a shrine *(tuka)* to the spirit (*atoro* or *atolo)* of his father.[2] This consists of a mound of earth into which is stuck a 4-ft. or 5-ft. long stick of *sasa* or *doma* wood forked or split at the top, with the ends separated and held apart to form a sort of basket. Before being set up, the stake is rubbed with ashes from the new homestead's first fire and soon after its erection a sacrifice is made at it. A selection of first fruits and the liver of the first animal killed by the homestead head are usually placed in the basket, but otherwise offerings are not made regularly, except perhaps in times of dearth or adversity, or when disease is attributed to the anger of the spirits. Avungara,[3] perhaps because their ancestry is of more importance to them, pay more attention to their shrines and usually have offerings made every day.

Azande have no material object of particular religious significance.

THE ATORO

Ideas about the soul are vague, but generally Azande consider each person to have one soul (*mbisimo)* which grows in strength as the individual matures and decays as the body approaches senility. Within this soul are twin shapes that are released upon death, one departing to the land of the spirits at the heads of streams; the other, which was directly inherited from the father and thus determined its possessor's clan, changes into the totem animal of the clan.[4] The first of these emanations becomes the *atoro,* though the precise relationship of *atoro* with the shrine or with the living is not defined. A spirit will only interest itself in those of its immediate kin who will remember it.

THE AGALISA

The Azande are very much afraid of the bad *atoro (agalisa)* who live apart in remote and rocky places from which they occasionally sally forth to attack isolated Azande in the bush. No special ritual observance is connected with them. It is sometimes said that the spirits of witches become *agalisa.*

MBORI—THE SUPREME BEING

The Azande are reported to worship a form of Supreme Being known as *Mbori*, who, according to some authors, is thought to be all-powerful and also to take an active interest in human affairs.[5]

He is believed to have created the earth, air, fire, water, and animals, and there is a creation myth which is found in many different versions but is not universally known. In this story Bapaizegino, who is the same person as *Mbori*, enclosed all the world's creatures in a round canoe[6] which he sealed up except for one hole, which he plugged with wax and marked with *mbiango* juice. Then he sent for his sons, Sun, Moon, Night, Cold, and Stars, to visit him as he was dying. When they arrived at court they were set the problem of undoing the canoe and discovering its contents. Only Sun

was able to do this, because Bapaizegino's messenger had revealed the secret to him. When Sun broke the wax, out poured men, animals, trees, rivers, hills, and grass.

No priests, shrines, holy places, or particular rituals are associated with *Mbori* except for one rarely and irregularly performed ceremonial, and there seems to be little systematic thought on the functions of *Mbori* and his relation with the spirits. Lagae states that Zande pray to *Mbori* in sickness or difficulty. It is possible, however, that Zande ideas about *Mbori* have been influenced by Christian teachings.

Although all authorities agree that *Mbori* is invoked from time to time, they disagree as to the frequency of these invocations and whether they may be regarded as religious in character.

Mbori is in some undefined way connected with the creation of individuals, so that conception cannot take place without his tacit approval and barrenness is due to him; moreover, any unnatural birth is attributed to him. Very occasionally the death of an old person might be attributed to *Mbori*, but even so witchcraft would be regarded as a contributory cause.[7]

Many Zande parents give their children names which incorporate the name of *Mbori* but no religious significance attaches to them.[8]

Lagae and Philipps[9] refer to a public ceremony performed at irregular intervals on the initiative of the chief at times of drought or general misfortune. The ceremony appears to be a form of thanksgiving for *Mbori*'s past gifts of good crops, and seeks an assurance for the future productivity of the land. A similar ceremony, known as *maziga* or *baati,* is held in times of drought and takes place at the head of a stream where *Mbori* is supposed to dwell. Drought and epidemics are vaguely associated with *Mbori*, but there seems to be no clear idea about the meaning or purpose of the actions performed or the words used for the ceremony.

Certain natural objects are connected with *Mbori,* particularly those for which no reasonable use or explanation can be found; such are the holes known as *fua Mbori*, "the footprints of *Mbori."*

There is no doubt that to the Azande the *atoro* and *Mbori* are connected in some way,[10] particularly in their associations with the heads of streams and with rain. It is believed that the spirits who go to the heads of streams may, in the lifetime of the kin they remember, visit their homesteads and haunt their graves; but these are soon forgotten, and then, Azande say,

"They go where *Mbori* is," or "They are with *Mbori.*" Evans-Pritchard asserts that Azande feel *Mbori* to be a vague generalized unity of the ghosts of the departed,[11] but they are not interested in formulating a coherent doctrine. Because the conception of him is so vague, *Mbori* serves as an explanation of the universe. He was the creator and first showed man how to make medicines and magic and how, by using these, to avenge crimes, so that he does provide ultimately "a justification and comprehension of magic." So undetermined is his action, however, that he has no influence on moral values.

RAIN STOPPERS

Certain men are supposed to have the power to stop rain. Larken records several examples from the Tembura area.[12] Any person believed to have such powers is liable to be tied up and beaten or ducked until he allows rain to fall.

TURE

Ture or *Tule* is the hero of a cycle of Zande fairy tales known as the "*Sangbwa Ture"* in which he is engaged in a number of tragi-comical incidents, often as a henpecked husband and usually as a liar, thief, and "bad lot." Torday[13] points out that *tule* is the Zande for spider (who appears frequently in African folklore, particularly in West Africa). The hero of several Mangbetu folk tales is *Azapane,* which means "spider's web," and the Ababua equivalent of *Ture* is *Mba,* who is credited with having woven the world on his loom. Gore has published a collection of tales about *Ture.*[14]

Notes

1 Most of the material in this section is derived from Evans-Pritchard, 21, 1936, “Zande Theology.”

2 Lagae, 6, 1926, pp. 61-4.

3 Ibid., p. 63.

4 Evans-Pritchard, 15, 1932, p. 404.

5 Lagae, 6, 1926.

6 This legend was recorded in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and, as the northern Azande do not use canoes, was presumably brought by the Ambomu from the Uele River area or beyond.

7 Evans-Pritchard, 21, 1936, pp. 13, 14, and 17.

8 Ibid., p. 17.

9 6. 1926, pp. 71-2; Philipps, 4, 1926, p. 177.

10 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 30.

11 Ibid., p. 42.

12 3, 1927, pp. 44-5.

13 1929, p. 154.

14 See Bibliography.

Part II

I.
The Ndogo-Sere Group

(Comprising ethnographically the Golo)

The peoples of this group are numerically small and have, in the past, suffered heavily from the slave-trade, Egyptian occupation, Zande invasions, famine, and epidemics. Evans-Pritchard writes: "The tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal present the appearance of a routed army. They have been scattered over the Nile-Uelle Divide and in this dispersion numerous tribal units, often consisting of only a few families, have been cut off from the main body and swept permanently out of touch with men of their own language and blood. Some peoples have disappeared altogether as political and cultural units and survived only in tradition."[1]

Some of these people, because they have come under Zande influence, have already been mentioned in Part I (pp. 26-40). The only coherent information available on the social life of these peoples relates to the Bviri section of the Belanda; an account of mystical beliefs of the Ndogo and Golo is referred to below (p. 100).

Tribal Groups

It is proposed to consider below the separate peoples who comprise this group, giving the location, population figures, and history of each of them where information is available.

Tucker, who depends much on Santandrea's information, states that "this group consists of four dialects, so closely allied as to be mutually intelligible;"[2] Ndogo, Sere, Bai, and Bviri (Biri).

NDOGO

A group of 750 Ndogo taxpayers lives 20 miles to the west of Wau. Their language is the accepted " group" language of the district. They suffered so heavily from the slave raids and the later Zande invasions that "it is almost impossible now, to ascertain their origin."[3] We know that their women make excellent pots, similar in pattern to those of the "Jur" (i.e., 'Beli, Lesi, etc.). They also weave cotton on "a loom with an endless warp."[4]

SERE (BASIRI, SHERE, SHAIRE)[5]

These people, at present resident near Wau, used to live to the south, between the Boku and Kere Rivers (approximately around 26° E., 5° N.), whence they were dispersed by the Azande.[6] Four separate groups are now known to exist:

(a) A group (number unknown) lives in French Equatorial Africa to the north of the Mbomu River, between the Boku and Kere Rivers.

(b) A small group of about 300 persons lives to the west, in sub-division Damara in the Department of Haute Sangha-M'poko, on the north bank of the Ubangi River, downstream from Bangui.

(c) Two hundred and fifty taxpayers live to the west of the Ndogc, where the Dem Zubeir road crosses the Pongo (Kpongo) River.

(d) A group of from 3,000 to 4,000 taxpayers lives in the Ndoiuma district of the Belgian Congo; these are generally known as Basiri.

De Calonne-Beaufaict[7] gives the following main divisions of the Congo Sere: Agele, Adimbomu, Yakoali, Dobanda, Yakumbage.

BAI (BÄRE, BARI)

A group of 250 Bai-speaking taxpayers lives on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road, west of the Sere, not far from their "original home."[8]

BVIRI (BIRI, MVE-GUMBA)

Three groups of Bviri-speakers, making a total of 1,550 taxpayers, live in the Wau area. (See also Bviri and Belanda, in Part I, Section III, above, pp. 26-41.)

The languages of the Bviri and Bor, with whom they are mixed, are different but mutually intelligible, and many of them also understand Zande.

The Bviri are an agricultural people and do not possess any livestock; they are reputed to be good hunters and excellent smiths. They have a system of exogamous, non-totemic clans. Clan elders had a certain amount of authority, possibly reinforced by magic, but before their submission to Zande rule the Bviri were not highly developed politically. Bridewealth is much higher than among the Azande, including, as well as spears, arrows, mats, hoes, axes, bark-cloths, baskets, gourds, knives, rings, etc.

The Bviri use two methods of divination; one is a type of ordeal (probably of Shilluk origin) in which the hand is plunged into boiling water. The other is by slitting a fowl's throat and marking where it falls dead. The Moro and Lugbara also use this method. Modes of burial are similar to those of the Azande, but the Bviri, like the Bongo, erect very fine wooden effigies over the graves.

The Bviri are now rapidly taking over Zande ideas and customs and sometimes contract blood-brotherhood with Azande who come up to trade for dried meat and vegetable oil.[9]

TAGBU (TAGBO)[9a]

A remnant of about 100 Tagbu lives at Ngua, near Raga, close to the Golo settlement, of which they are often considered a part. Formerly the Tagbu were a more numerous people, who fled from the Congo before the Azande. From 1919-20 they lived in the Zande settlement at Dem Zubeir, then they moved to a sleeping-sickness settlement near Raga, then in 1932 to Khor Hajar with the Golo, at the time of the regrouping of the scattered peoples of the Southern Sudan. In 1938 they moved, with the Golo, to their present home. Their language stands midway between Ndogo and Sere, but the Tagbu more often speak Golo, Zande, Ndogo, or Sere. Except for some negligible Zande infiltrations, they represent a "genuine Ndogo complex."[10]

Santandrea,[11] in his latest consideration of the languages of these people, relates Ndogo-Sere to Feroge and Mangaya, which, when Tucker was writing, "had not been placed."[12]

FEROGE[13]

Approximately 2,500 Feroge-speakers live near Raga under the same chief as the Indri[14] together with about 76 foreigners. The 1948 estimates give 723 Feroge taxpayers.[15]

The Feroge came to their present home more than 100 years ago as conquerors from the north, but now they rule over the Indri only. They are divided into the following groups:

(a) The ruling family or Feroge proper, descendants, according to tradition, of a Bornu pilgrim who had been to Mecca, and who settled among the Kalige, married into the family of the original chief, and eventually succeeded to the chieftainship. The word "Feroge" derives from the Arabic verb *farag, "* to separate," and refers to the origin of the chief's family. The name has spread to include all the people now ruled by this chief.

(b) Kaligi (Kaliki, Kalike),[16] the main section of the people who became subject to the Feroge; it is now also used of the other two sections mentioned below.

(c) Shayo (Shayu), an incorrect transliteration of the Arabic *Cwàrà.* Formerly they lived separately from the Feroge, with their own chief, home, and name, though they used the same language. They have now been placed under the Feroge chief.

(d) Gbogo (Gboko), a group like the Shayo.

MANGAYA (Manga)[17] should be known as Buga; their official designation, Moingayat, is a corruption of the Arabic *Mangaya.* Their language is hardly distinguishable from that of the Feroge, but "geographically and historically" they have had "very little connection" and are "probably" unaware of any connections.

They now live on the Dem Zubeir side of Raga, about 25 miles from the Mangayat Hills, their original home. Prior to the redistribution of the smaller peoples of the Southern Sudan, they were partly under Nyangulgule and partly under Feroge rule; now they have their own sub-chief and number about 300.

INDRI[18]

A group about 700 strong who were once powerful, but are now attached to the Feroge. They are fast decreasing in numbers.

TOGOYO[19]

In the old days, the Togoyo perhaps numbered thousands, but wars, famine, disease, and absorption by their stronger neighbours have reduced them to only about 20 persons, living among the Feroge and Nyangulgule.

Santandrea places the Togoyo, Indri, Mangaya, and Feroge together in what he calls the "Raga-east "group.[20]

GOLO[21]

Although the Golo language belongs to the Banda group, the Golo belong ethnographically to the Ndogo-Sere group. Their early origin is obscure and, like the Ndogo, they suffered heavily both from slave raids and the Zande invasions. They now live just to the west of Wau. Ndogo is far better known than Golo, which it was ousting, according to Tucker. Santandrea,[22] however, writes that the language has "taken a new life, since the regrouping of the people of the Wau area into tribal units."[23] Tucker gives a genealogical table of their chiefs, who are now, however, sunk in fortune, and one at least has been replaced by a Ndogo. There are about 4,000 Golo in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.[24]

Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic[25]

The Ndogo, like the Azande, attribute all misfortune not explicable by carelessness, ignorance, or breach of taboos, to mystical agencies, of which they recognize two distinct types: one due to "beings out of a man's reach (spiritual beings)," the other "to human beings endowed with extraordinary powers (witches, sorcerers, operators of black magic)." Only when a man is deliberately killed by another with a weapon are mystical forces " not entertained."[26]

When Santandrea was writing, chiefs were not allowed to condemn witches or sorcerers to death; they did, nevertheless, manage either to send to prison or ostracize persons found guilty by the hunting oracle, which was recognized by all as being the only fair judge of serious charges.[27]

Persons accused of witchcraft usually belonged to a different tribe from that of the victim.[28]

Ko'du, as an explanation of death, is probably a custom introduced from the Azande and, according to Santandrea, "had all the disadvantages of the Zande method, without any of its advantages."[29] It was generally only used to explain the death of influential people, and the accused were generally people in bad odour with the chief, or socially insignificant. Santandrea gives no indication as to whether the Ndogo use the decisions of the minor oracles in every-day affairs, as do the Azande.

MYSTICAL FORCES

The Supreme Being (*Mbiri, Mvirt) "* may fairly exactly stand for God "; misfortune and death are only attributed to his agency "when all other explanations fail."

Spirits (baaci, bvaaci), often spoken of in the plural, are inferior to *Mbiri,* but more actively interested in the fortunes of men. If the oracles declare that *baaci* are responsible for a person's sickness, the spirits are placated with an offering of beer. In severe cases the victim may permanently vacate his homestead to escape from their attacks. If the patient nevertheless dies, "*Mbiri* alone will be held responsible for his death, for a man's days on earth are counted." Some prefer to think that a wicked *baaci* had obtained permission from *Mbiri* to kill the unlucky victim.

Baasili (*bvaasili*) are a particular sort of *baaci* thought to assist in the final moulding of men's bodies; "those men they helped to form are entrusted to their care all their lives long."

Vuvu are the spirits of the dead; the word is sometimes used to signify ghosts, the spirits themselves being called *baaci. Vuvu* are thought of as being responsible for disease, because they are angry with the sufferer who has neglected his duties to them. The spirit of one recently dead is placated first by taking, or sending by a blood-brother *(muka),* a hoe to the grave.[30] If the sufferer recovers, he gives the spirit what Santandrea calls "a modest home (*karama)"* at the grave. If nevertheless the sufferer dies, the death is attributed to some unknown cause, and the oracles are consulted. They generally declare *Mbiri* to be responsible for the death of most commoners.[31]

Public calamities, such as drought or a plague of locusts, may be caused, it is believed, by neglect of a chief's grave.

The Bviri revenge themselves on the dead for causing such calamities by exhuming the corpse and burning it. They have probably adopted this Nilotic custom from the Nilotic section of the Belanda and the Luo section of the Jur. The Bai practised a modified form of this custom, but the Ndogo, Golo, and Sere regard it as alien.

Ndogo-Golo ideas about the relationship between the *vuvu, baaci,* and *Mbiri* are vague, all being associated with the sources of rivers. *Mbiri* is sometimes referred to as the "greatest of spirits."[32]

WITCHCRAFT *(Ko'du)*[33]

This seems to be almost identical with the Zande "witchcraft substance" *(mangu)* and consists of a physical substance in the belly which may swell to the size of a man's hand, and may be revealed if an autopsy is performed. It can be inherited (son from father, daughter from mother) but will remain cool unless it is stimulated by ill-will. The Bviri call it *uru,* the Sere *ulu.* Women, particularly, are suspect and a man usually questions the oracles first about the activities of his wives or grown-up daughters. There is a simple expiatory ceremony that wives may perform in order to relieve the fears of their husbands. It is usually only "great men" who are struck down by witchcraft.[34]

If the oracles declare the witch to be anyone but a wife, he or she is generally challenged, the appropriate response being to profess absence of any ill-will towards the sufferer and to blow water upon him. In the past a witch might have been forced to drink *kpiri* and *tomgbo* poisons, though not unless the hunting oracle *(ba pfa if a)* had first found him guilty. This usually only occurred on the death of a chief, "who cannot die like an ordinary commoner."[35] If an important commoner was thought to have died of witchcraft, the kin of the dead man could appeal to the chief on the evidence of the hunting oracle; if the chief's oracle confirmed the verdict "the guilty witch was sentenced to death." Santandrea mentions no form of compensation which was accepted in lieu. If, at a post-mortem, no sign of witchcraft was found in the belly of the supposed witch, his kin might claim compensation. The physical evidence counteracted the verdict of the oracle. Witchcraft and sorcery seem to have been considered equally reprehensible. Chiefs generally accused their subjects of sorcery, rather than witchcraft, since this could not be disproved by a subsequent autopsy.

SORCERY[36]

The Ndogo word *ie* may mean either medicine or poison, but it also has the special meaning of "charm." It is manufactured from certain roots, etc., is instructed as to its task, and thrown in the direction of the victim, or his cultivations. Santandrea compares *ie* to Zande witchcraft,[37] but it seems

more appropriate to compare it to sorcery. Sorcery is only used against chiefs and important people.[38]

If *ie* is diagnosed by the oracles, or suspected for other reasons, a witch-doctor is called in who, for a fee, undertakes to carry out appropriate remedies. If the witch-doctor is unsuccessful, the oracles are consulted to discover the worker of the charm, who is then called to visit the sick man, and it is arranged that he shall have to pass under an arch of *dele* creeper.[39] The accused tears away the creeper, usually at the same time denying the charge, then drinks water and blows it over the patient. This is thought to be a sure remedy, but if the victim grows worse the oracles are consulted again, and the process is repeated with another suspect. Allied to *ie* is *nai,* a charm which is hit or shot into the victim.

Evil eye (*waro*),[40] from the Ndogo *wa,* to cut, and *ro,* eye. A man who possesses *waro,* like a Zande gall-bladder man, may be responsible for minor mishaps, illness, or ill-luck.

WITCH-DOCTORS

The Ndogo have two types of witch-doctors: *mbe-o,* the master of *o,* a sort of grass used in leechcraft, and *mbe-pfi-iagomo,* a sort of minor leech or dresser.[41] They work primarily as leeches. They are rapidly losing prestige before the Zande *binza* (witch-doctors) and have indeed already disappeared from among the Sere and Bviri.

Persons possessed of *baaci,* either men or women, may practise as diviners, being employed in place of or in addition to oracles.

ORACLES AND ORDEALS

The Ndogo use both oracles and ordeals, either together or separately, and use the same word for both, *pfa-co,* "seek word, seek reason."[42]

(a) Gbi Mu, " hit wood,"[43] This is a sort of combination of the Zande rubbing-board oracle and the *makama* (see above, p. 89). The "wood" instrument is about 15 cms. long, and has a hole into which water is

poured, and a wooden plug inserted. The operator turns the plug in his hand, meanwhile addressing the oracle and reciting the names of suspects, until the plug sticks in the hole at the name of the guilty person.

(b) Ba Kango, "handle axe."[44] The operator drops an axe on to the ground, at the same time calling out the name of a suspect; he whose name is called when the axe chooses to stick in the ground is the guilty person.

(c) Waa Nguu, "cut chicken."[45] A chicken is held on the ground in the middle of a square of ash piles, each pile representing the name of a suspect. The question and the significance of the piles are explained to the chicken, whose throat is then cut. The pile of ash nearest to which the fowl dies, or on which most blood is spilt, indicates the name of the guilty person.

(d) Nju Kpiri and *Pfa la,* "drink poison" and "seek game."[46] This is a combination of ordeal and oracle, and is used by the Ndogo for all important questions. A mild form of poison is used in the ordeal, which is seldom lethal, and the answer[47] has to be confirmed by the oracle. To work this oracle, a hunt is held, usually under the supervision of the chief, and the testicles or breasts of the first beast caught are cut off and sent back to the court. If the sex of the animal caught is different from that of the accused, he or she is innocent; if the same, the accused is guilty. A charge of sorcery or witchcraft has to be substantiated by this oracle, which is the only one with legal status.

(e) Nju Tomgbo—Nju Kpiri.[48] These two poisons are administered as an ordeal to the accused, whose death or survival proves his guilt or innocence. This is not an old Ndogo custom, and is probably adopted from the Azande. Santandrea[49] suggests that it is usually administered to persons accused by a chief, and that the chiefs introduced it for their own benefit.

THE MAKAU MOVEMENT[50]

Santandrea noted the rapid growth of a religious cult, known as the Makau movement, among all the Ndogo-Sere peoples, and also among

some Bongo, Azande, and Nilotic Jur. Members of this cult attributed all evils to the anger of Makau, a forest spirit, who had to be propitiated by gifts. The ease and speed with which the cult spread among so many and such various peoples is indicative of the breakdown of tribal solidarity and the greater inter-tribal movement which has accompanied European administration. The cult was strong in 1935.

Notes

1 Evans-Pritchard, 13, 1931. See pp. 15-16.

2 Tucker, 1940, p. xiii and pp. 15-16. All the information in this section, not otherwise acknowledged, is taken from Tucker's book. Van Bulck, 1948, p. 182, agrees with this classification.

3 Tucker, 1931, p. 51; and 1940, p. 48. The Nduggo of Schweinfurth may have been Ndogo or Gbaya-Ndogo, i.e., Kreish.

4 Crowfoot, 1925, pp. 132-5. They use the "coil" method of pot-making.

5 See Section III, pp. 26-41, above; Santandrea, 1950, p. 7. Santandrea (1933, pp. 168-70) gives a history of the attacks upon the Sere, and of their dispersion.

6 Tucker, 1931, p. 52. He also gives the genealogy of their chief.

7 1921, p. 95.

8 Santandrea, 1950, p. 7.

9 Evans-Pritchard, 13, 1931.

9a Not to be confused with the Banda tribe Togbo.

10 Santandrea, 1933, pp. 89-91.

11 1950, pp. 7 and 10. This work is more concise and more considered than this author's earlier material.

12 Tucker, 1940, p. 20.

13 Santandrea, op. cit., pp. 11-12. All the information on the Feroge is from this source, unless otherwise acknowledged.

14 Ibid., p. 7.

15 *Equatoria Handbook*, 1951, Appendix 2 (c).

16 Not to be confused with the Keliko of the Moru-Madi group, who live to the south of Yei and to the north-east of the Mamvu, about 31° E., 3° 45' N.

17 Santandrea, op. cit., p. 13.

18 Ibid., p. 14.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 52.

21 Tucker, 1931, pp. 51-3, and 1940, pp. 48-9.

22 1 938, p. 479.

23 Prior to that they lived in four separate linguistic groups. Tucker, 1940, p. 20.

24 Ibid.

25 This section is based on Santandrea, 1938. This author does not always distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery; as both are probably importations from the Azande, it may be that many Ndogo also confuse them. All references, unless otherwise acknowledged, are to Santandrea's article.

26 Ibid., p. 459.

27 Ibid., pp. 468-72. Santandrea instances many actual cases.

28 Santandrea does not define precisely what he means by "tribe *"* (p. 469), but they seem to be small political units living separately, but not at a great distance from each other.

29 Ibid., p. 473.

30 This attitude is very like the attitude of Azande to the *atoro,* in that they are not much considered except in misfortune.

31 This is contrary to Zande beliefs.

32 Santandrea, 1938, p. 463.

33 Ibid., p. 464.

34 Ibid., p. 460.

35 Ibid., p. 469.

36 Ibid., p. 463.

37 Ibid., p. 465.

38 Ibid., p. 467.

39 *Gbadange* in Zande.

40 Santandrea, op. cit., p. 465.

41 Ibid., pp. 474-5.

42 Ibid., p. 460.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., p. 461.

46 Ibid.

47 Santandrea does not state the exact form the answer should take.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., p. 473.

50 Ibid., pp. 479-81.

II.
The Moru-Madi Group

Approximately a quarter of a million people speak Eastern Sudanic languages of the Moru-Madi group, which Tucker[1] divides into three sub-groups. Peoples will be referred to here by the name of the languages they speak; for example, Moru-speaking peoples will be termed "the Moru."

Linguistic Sub-Groups

I. The Northern or Moru sub-group live in the Amadi and Maridi Districts of the Sudan, and include the Moru Miza, Kediru, Lakama'di, Andri, 'Bäli'bä, Ägi, and Wa'di.
II. The Central sub-group live in the Yei Districts of the Sudan, extending into the Belgian Congo, and include the Logo,[2] Avukaya, Keliko, and Ndo.
III. The Southern or Madi sub-group live in the Opari District of the Sudan and in Uganda, and include the Madi, Lugbara, and Luluba.

Lendu

Although the Lendu language is not a sub-group of Moru-Madi it is a member of the larger unit, Moru-Mangbetu.[3]

History

Conjectural histories of this area have been constructed by Hutereau, de Calonne-Beaufaict, and Czekanowski, and summarized by Tucker.[4]

Most of these people assert that they have lived in or near their present homes for a long time, and their "earliest memories" are of the Zande and Mangbetu invasions.·[5] The western Moru-Madi speakers in particular have been affected by Zande contacts.

Where the Moru-Madi peoples came from before they entered their present area cannot be ascertained. Some say from the south, others the south-east or southwest; they may have been among the invaders, and thus would have received the impact of most, if not all, of the later invasions of Eastern Sudanic peoples, the Zande expansion, and the depredations of the slavers.[6] The two main divisions of the Lugbara, the High and Low People, have different versions of their history, although it is fairly certain that originally they came from one common home. The Low Lugbara state that they came from the south Sudan in the Bari area via the Nile Valley and west Acoli; their founding ancestor entered the country and settled on Mount Wati. They bury their dead with the head towards Mount Wati. The High Lugbara say that they also came from Bari, but via what is now Kakwa country; they say that they and the Kakwa have one ancestor, who lived on Mount Liru, the other large mountain a few miles to the north of Wati. They bury their dead with the head towards Liru.[7]

The Logo " regard themselves as a population established since the earliest times and can only give accounts of quite small migrations."[8] Zande influence on the Logo country has been relatively slight, although around 1860 the Logo were forced to retire to their territory between Aka and Garamba before the Avungara onslaught. This was the first of the series of events which gave to the Agambi clan of the Logo a position similar to that held by the Avungara among the Azande.[9] Since that time the Logo have been considerably affected by the Arab slave-raiders, the Egyptian government, the Mahdists, and the Belgians.

The Lendu[10] claim descent from a mythical ancestor, Ber, and their traditions say that they arrived in their present homeland in the Belgian Congo from somewhere west of the White Nile. Their migrations, which were carried out in small parties, have been dated variously at the beginning

of the 17th century or at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. They were partly subjugated by the Bahema, Alur, and Bambisa, but have recently recovered their independence owing to the intervention of the Belgian Administration.

The Lendu at Nyoro in Uganda were originally, according to Emin Pasha and Struck, a colony of slaves brought from south of Mahagi by Chief Kimrasi.

Location and Population

THE MORU SUB-GROUP

Approximately 20,000 people speak dialects of Moru.[11] The 1948 census estimates 6,942 Moru taxpayers in the Mongalla area (Moru District).[12]

(a) (Moru) Miza

1. The main section, approximately 7,200, lives to the south-east of Amadi.[13]
2. A small section lives near the Moru Ägi.
3. Approximately 500 live intermingled with the Morokodo.

Miza is the dialect chosen for use in mission schools.

(b) (Moru) Kediru

1. Approximately 5,200 live to the north of the Miza, on the east of the Morokodo.[14]
2. A section, Makuba, lives near the Nyangbara, south of Tindalu.

(c) (Moru) Ändri

They live to the south of the Miza and number approximately 3,300.[15]

(d) (Moru) Ägi[16]

1. Approximately 3,200 live under two separate chiefs, to the west of the Miza.
2. A group of refugees from the Azande live on the Tali road to the north of the Morokodo.
3. About 400 live in Amadi.

(e) Lakama'di[17]

These are the most northerly Moru and live on the Tali road in contact with the Bari-speaking Mondari.

(f) 'Bäli'bä[18]

About 1,200 live to the south of the Miza, in contact with Bari-speaking Pöjulu.

(g) (Moru) Wa'di[19]

About 1,300 are scattered to the north of Maridi. Many so-called Moru Wa'di are really Morokodo.

(a), (*b*), (c), and *(d)* all live around Amadi (see map); *(d)* and *(g)* are almost identical dialects and may be one tribal unit; *(c)* and (*f*) are almost identical dialects.

THE CENTRAL SUB-GROUP

This consists of approximately 83,000 people.

Avukaya

Most of the Avukaya, according to Tucker,[20] live in two groups, between Maridi and Yei in the Sudan. The names of the known sections are: Ojila *(c.* 3,000) and Ojigä (c. 2,800), though there are others which are presumably very small. In the 1948 tribal analysis, adult male taxpayers of the Avukaya numbered 1,461 in the Mongalla area.[21] There is a small group, Agamoro, living near Mundu country south of Maridi, and another branch living in the Belgian Congo between Aba and Faradje. There seems to be some confusion about the name of this last group; most authorities call it Oigiga, or some variation of that spelling, which would connect it with Tucker's Ojigä[22]

which he places in the Sudan. There is also some confusion about the precise location; Emin Pasha,[23] who spelt the name Aoigiga, placed it about 3° 50' N. 29° 50' E., and Gray,[24] who spells the name Ajiga, locates the group near Dungu at 3° 50' N., 28° 50' E., approximately the area indicated on Junker's map.

The Avukaya of the Congo area, whatever their name and location, live surrounded by Azande who influence them considerably, and although van den Plas[25] could write that "ils sont restés en grand partie indépendants," it is reasonable to suppose that the rate of "Zandeization" is progressively increasing.

Keliko (Kaliko, Kalika)

Keliko is a foreign name, probably of Zande origin, meaning "wild man"; the Keliko call themselves Ma'di.[26] Culturally and linguistically they seem to be closely related to the west Lugbara. There are two sections:

(a) Those living in the high country around Yei, to which they remember moving from the south, so that they are probably a breakaway section from (b). They number about 4,000 and their ruling clan is the Panyana.[27]

(b) 12,231 Keliko live in the Belgian Congo to the south-east of Aba in the territory of the Alur-Lugbara.[28] In 1948 it was estimated that there were 1,385 taxpayers in the Mongalla area of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.[29]

Bori (Berri)

Tucker[30] doubts whether these people still maintain a corporate existence.

Logo

They occupy the basins of the Abu and the Obi or Zoro Rivers, and are in the main contained within the territory lying between Faradje, Watsa, Mount Tendebi, and Aba. They are bounded in the north and west by the Mundu, in the north-east by the Kakwa, in the south-east by the Lugbara, and in the south-west by the Mamvu. A few Logo are found in the Sudan in the Yei District. 1947 statistics give a total of 48,450 in the Belgian Congo.[31]

Ndo (Ndu)

1947 statistics show 17,323 Ndo living to the south of the Logo, between the Walese and the Lugbara, in the Belgian Congo:[32] a few thousand live at Kango in the West Nile District of Uganda. There is virtually no information about them. It would appear that the Northern Ndo call themselves Membi and the Southern Ndo Oke'bu. The name Avare (Avari) is also associated with these peoples. There are Oke'bu blacksmiths among the Lendu and Lugbara and they sometimes adopt the language of the people among whom they settle.[33]

MADI SUB-GROUP

There are approximately 240,000 members of this sub-group.

Lugbara (Lugware)

The Lugbara live on the Nile-Congo watershed—the boundary between Uganda and the Belgian Congo. They spread east to the Madi escarpment, the boundary between Lugbara and Madi, who live on the Nile lowlands between this escarpment and the Nile Valley. They spread west towards the Uele basin. The highlands in which they live are open and almost treeless savannah. Their main concentration is along the high ridge of the Nile-Congo divide. They are often called Ma'di by neighbouring tribes (their clans consist of two groups, called Ma'di and Lu), thus causing some confusion in the accounts of Europeans.

In Uganda there are 183,111 Lugbara, of whom 160,785 lived in the West Nile District in 1948,[34] and the remainder were working or settled in South Uganda. 1,871 taxpayers live in the Yei District of the Sudan. In 1949 there were 58,148 Lugbara in the Congo.[35]

Linguistically Lugbara is divided into two dialect clusters, Uruleti and Andraleti (High and Low Lugbara), corresponding to the main divisions of the tribe into the Urule'ba and Andrale'ba, the High People and the Low People. High Lugbara is spoken in the west of the area and is very close to Keliko, and Low Lugbara is spoken in the east and is close to Ma'di. Both High and Low Lugbara have several dialects.

Today there are five Government chiefdoms in Uganda and five in the Belgian Congo.[36]

Madi (properly Ma'di)

In 1948 there were 25,600 Madi in Madi county of West Nile District, Uganda, and 33,300 in Madi Sub-District of Uganda. The inhabitants of Madi county are the Southern Madi or Madi-Ndri, who speak a dialect very close to Low Lugbara; the inhabitants of Madi Sub-District are the Northern Madi, who speak a distinct dialect.[37]

There are 2,254 taxpayers[38] in the Torit District of the Sudan. They are not pure Madi stock, but a mixture of several unrelated tribes. Besides their own tribal dialects they speak two Madi dialects:

(i) Madi Lokar (2,000) to the south.
(ii) Madi Pandikeri (5,000) to the north.

Luluba [39]

Their real name is "Ulu'bo"; about 3,200 are now resident in the Luluba Hills, 40 miles south-east of Juba. 987 taxpayers were estimated in the tribal analysis of the Mongalla area (Juba District) in 1948.[40] They are influenced in language and culture by the Bari.

The languages of the Lugbara, Madi, and Luluba are very similar and mutually intelligible.

LENDU[41]

Their real name is "'Bale" or "'Balendru." Their language has phonetic characteristics not found in any other Moru-Mangbetu language and is quite unintelligible to their neighbours.[42]

The Lendu live in three areas: there are approximately 150,000 around Djugu in the Belgian Congo; approximately 1,000 in Alur-Lugbara territory in the Belgian Congo; approximately 2,760 in the West Nile District of Uganda.

Physical Measurements

The whole Moru-Madi group are predominantly mesaticephalic, of short or medium stature.[43]

Northern or Moru Sub-group [44]

	No. measured	*Average Ceph. Ind.*	*Average Height*
Kediru	35	77.5	1.70
Miza	35	75.3	1.68 (only 16 subjects)
Ändri	41	75.8	—

Central Sub-group [45]			
Logo	145	73.3	1.71
Keliko	7	77.9	1.75
Avukaya	28	76.6	1.68
Southern or Madi Sub-group			
Madi [46]	10	75.3	1.77
Madi [47]	11	76.6	1.68
Lugbara [48]	10	76.9	—
Lendu [49]	291	78.5	1.60

The Northern or Moru Sub-Group

ECONOMIC LIFE[50]

There is plenty of land in the Moru Districts, and as far as land can be said to be "owned" it is clan property, but sons usually take over the land that their fathers used to cultivate. Agriculture is shifting. In the past the Moru used to live along river-banks and own many cattle; nowadays most of them live along roads[51] and have few cattle or none, those they have being milked by men. They have a few chickens, but only infants and the very old eat eggs. Their diet is very deficient in meat, and if it is like that of their neighbours the Morokodo, "the food grown hardly raises a subsistence."[52]

Each wife has her own plot and granary. The husband does the initial heavy clearing work, in which he is usually assisted by others in return for a beer party and, presumably, reciprocal assistance. All digging is done with a long-handled hoe (*ke'bu*). Wage labour was still unpopular when Nalder was writing.

Iron-work and smelting formerly constituted an important industry, but this has now died out and the present blacksmiths are mostly Morokodo.

Hunting in many parts of the country is of equal importance with agriculture, particularly in the east where the soil is light and only a few root crops can be grown, and most of the dry season is devoted to hunting and dancing. In nearly all parts of the country only small game is now left. Hunts

are usually organized as "drives."[53] Fishing[54] is important, especially among the Kediru.

Huts are small and round and the thatching is of the ridge type.[55]

The Moru are known locally as great singers, and their dances are always led by a chanter.[56]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[57]

None of the tribes has chiefs able to produce a genealogy going farther back than four generations, and it is thought that the present holders of the office are descendants of Egyptian or Belgian appointees. In the past the rain-makers had greater political power and it is probable that the elders, whose authority the present chiefs endeavour to minimize, formerly had more important executive functions.

Disputes, if not settled by magical means, were formerly brought before "some individuals of repute" known as *vure'ba* (case men) or *ta-opa'ba* (word-tellers), though these persons were not holders of any office and only seem to have been able to judge when requested to do so. It is not stated whether any respected elders, or only members of certain clans, could be appealed to.

Compensation was payable to the injured party but there is no information as to the amount, except that it was less for a woman than for a man. Seligman[58] notes that no compensation was payable for adultery, the only remedy being for the aggrieved husband to slay the adulterer. This argues that the political and legal structure was rudimentary and did not extend beyond the localized clan.[59]

AGE GRADES[60]

The age-grade organization was formerly more important than it is now and applied to both men and women; initiation, which involved extraction of teeth,[61] a period of seclusion, and the taking of a new name, was also an important ceremony in the past and was often accompanied by martial

contests. There were a junior (warrior) grade, a senior (elder) grade, and a grade into which the senile declined.

This system was the basis for the political organization and administration of the tribe, and it also involved social duties; age-mates were expected to be hospitable and generous and to assist each other with agricultural work, fines, and bridewealth. A man had a claim to a portion of any game killed by an age-mate.

CLANS[62]

The Moru are divided into numerous small, patrilineal exogamous clans, the members of which used to live in homesteads scattered round that of the clan head *(labi)*. There is no indication that these clans formed part of any larger system, nor is there any information about their structure or interrelations, except that they have a tendency to split.[63] Each clan has a totem, into which the souls (*kali'ba)* of clan members are believed to pass at death.[64] Most clans also have a secondary totem *(karo)* to which the clan is connected by virtue of some old association. One clan, for example, is associated with the hartebeeste, because the animal covered up the tracks of one of their ancestors when he was a fugitive. Clan members are forbidden to eat the flesh of their totem, and a husband also observes the *karo* of his wife's clan. The conceptual relations between the souls and the totems are not clear, and Mynors concluded that "the general belief tends to identify the totem beast only with the vague community of ancestors (*diamba*)."[65] The system is "extremely complex,"[66] and the dearth of information about Moru clans and totems is to be regretted, for the clan "appears to be one of the very few Moru institutions" which have survived into the present.[67]

MARRIAGE[68]

Bride-price is paid by instalments, both in hoes[69] and in labour; the girl may visit her husband meanwhile but does not settle permanently in his homestead until she conceives, or until the full bridewealth has been

transferred. In-law relationship is close and the husband is expected to make regular gifts.

Widows are usually bequeathed by a husband before his death, customarily to his next brother but one, seldom to a son; no one person inherits more than one wife. If a widow objects to the arrangements made for her, she may carry out a ceremony with a man of her own choice[70] and is thereby released from other obligations.

Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, but a husband may receive preferential treatment from his in-laws if he takes a second wife from their group. Nalder reports that a husband may divorce a wife just before he dies and that her parents are bound to return the bride-price. In the event of an unmarried girl having a child (this is unusual, for the couple generally many) the man may pay a legitimization fee and the child becomes a member of his clan. The Moru intermarry freely with their neighbours, including the Bari-speaking Nyangbara.[71]

THE BÖRI RAIN-MAKING CLAN[72]

Some members of the Bori clan are possessed of a mystical power which enables them to make rain and perform certain other magical acts. They practise only among the southern members of the group, the Ändri, and, to a lesser extent, among the Ägi. Fraser[73] does not mention that they practise in the north among the Kediru or Miza. They make rain and perform their magical practices by virtue of the spirit of *Lu* (Supreme Being), which at some time, always exactly remembered by the possessor, enters into them. Only men may divine by this power, but sometimes it enters the wives of rain-makers and makes them run into the bush. *Lu* is regarded as a holy power which gives its possessor a dangerous ritual status, and it is dangerous for a stranger to eat from the pots or sleep on the bed of a rain-maker. Before they were penalized by the Administration, rain-makers, as a mark of their ritual status, wore their hair long and did not wash the upper parts of their bodies. Men feared to provoke or strike a rain-maker and would put away their arms in his presence. Not all Bori are rain-makers, but all members of the clan have *Lu* in them and are therefore in some degree holy. *Lu* gave them special powers when he created them.

When rain is required a rain-maker, or perhaps several who have come together for the purpose, goes to the grave of a famous rain-maker, taking with him his special rain-making pot;[74] he washes his face with the water in it, calls on *Lu,* takes a length of *woro* creeper, dips it into the pot and scatters some water in the air, at the same time calling for rain. Often the rain-maker also cuts the throat of a hen over the pot. The pot, which is normally kept upside down, is left mouth upwards for the rest of that season. The grass round the grave of a rain-maker is not burnt with the rest of the grass during the dry season, for to do so would cause a drought.

The magical powers of the Bori are to some degree at any rate used as sanctions.[75] Their ritual status enables them, to a certain extent, to function as arbitrators. They are able to avenge crimes on behalf of injured individuals who are unable to obtain satisfaction in other ways. For instance, they can avenge adultery or theft by magical means which make the guilty party sick. They also have the power of transferring the sickness to themselves, if the guilty party confesses and pays compensation for his crime. Böri work for a fee, but generally with the approval of the chief, and Moru say that Böri do not use magic without good cause. It is said that anyone who commits adultery with the wife of a Böri will afterwards walk on all fours.

MAGIC AND SORCERY[76]

A number of magical practices are found among the Northern Moru where there are no Böri.

Lendriba are leeches and diviners who, like the Zande leeches, combine medical and magical elements in their remedies. The real source of their power lies in the magic of their medicines, but they use such therapeutic methods as covering wounds with ashes and binding them with fur, skin, or bast. Unlike Zande leeches, they practise surgery with a knife, but their principal instruments are their fingers with which they manipulate the wound. They have no magical power to kill their enemies.

The *odra'ba* (death man), found also among the Morokodo,[77] possesses a medicine which he sells to husbands to work against those who would commit adultery with their wives, the wives themselves being immune from its effects.

The *imi'ba* (snake poisoner) is generally a woman, who contrives, for a fee, to put snake venom in the eyes of her victims. Snake poisoners are dying out, according to Fraser, but it is doubtful whether what appears to be actual murder was ever common, and it is probable that deaths which could not be otherwise accounted for were attributed to the activities of *imi'ba.*

The *mili'ba* (sorcerer), rendered by Fraser as "fetish vendor," sold medicines or medicated objects which, if left in the house of an enemy, caused him to sicken and die. When a *lendriba* diagnoses the work of a *mili'ba* he prescribes the immediate burning of the victim's house and all its contents. If the victim is able to locate the *mili'ba,* he will pay him a considerable fee to "cool" his sorcery.

Kole (" possessor of the evil eye") is a morose ill-tempered man, who is able to bring sterility, illness, and misfortune upon those he dislikes. A *kole* may be detected by the *lendri'ba* or by a form of the "cut chicken" oracle (see p. 103 above). To work this oracle the heads of families assemble, make a circle of pegs or piles of ash, each one of which represents a chief, and cut the throat of a chicken and throw it into the circle. The peg or pile nearest which the chicken expires indicates the chiefdom in which the *kole* dwells. With this information to guide him, the *lendriba* is called in. In the old days the *kole* might have been killed; nowadays he is boycotted.

Mberiju (sorcerers) are the most powerful workers of magic. They form a closed corporation and dispense illness and lethal magic for fees. When a man is ill and *mberiju* influence is diagnosed, he will endeavour to locate the *mberiju* and pay him to remove his magic. *Mberiju* claim that they only injure or kill those who are guilty, thus excusing any failures. According to Seligman, *mberiju* are only found among the Kediru, and the Nyamusa and Morokodo, who are not of this group.

BURIAL AND GRAVE MONUMENTS

The Moru Ândri bury their dead seated,[78] in a recessed grave, wrapped in a carpet of leaves and protected from the earth by a fence of wooden stakes. Over the grave they erect a small mound. Corpses are anointed with oil before burial.[79]

The Moru and some of the Madi erect remarkable megalithic monuments over their graves, which are probably "unique in Africa as contemporary

structures."[80]

Moru, Miza, and Ândri are buried within the homestead enclosure, except for first-born infants who are buried near the hut of a woman past child-bearing age, usually the mother's mother, so that they will not re-enter the womb of the mother and be born again. Graves of still-born infants do not have stones erected above them, but only three small wooden pegs driven into the ground to mark the spot.[81] The Kediru use pyramids or flat dolmen stones supported on stone uprights, three for a boy, five for a girl.[82]

The Central Sub-Group[83]

The Logo

DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

Men wear a strip of bark-cloth tucked between the legs and attached to a belt in front and behind; women wear bunches of grass. Various ornaments, such as necklaces and iron bracelets, are worn, and a ring is sometimes inserted in the upper lip. Many Logo wear the tribal mark, consisting of three parallel lines of tattoo marks across the forehead from one temple to the other. Red clay is used for painting the body. The lower incisors are parted and the lips perforated for the insertion of metal rings and sticks of ivory or quartz; the ears are pierced. Circumcision is unknown.

The Logo cure skins, and make sesame oil and poison for their hunting arrows. Wood-carving is rudimentary and limited to drums. Pottery is made by men. Iron tools, arrow-heads, and iron ornaments are also made.

The Logo do not live in villages; their homesteads are scattered in the bush and surrounded by cultivations and granaries; they are rarely protected by enclosure. Huts are circular, with conical roofs made of a thatch of dry leaves. The roof juts out from the walls and is supported by posts all round the hut. Special huts are reserved for women.

ECONOMY

The country is scrub savannah with marshy valleys. The rainy season lasts from April to November, with a short break from June to the end of August.

The northern Logo are essentially cultivators. Men grow sorghum, sesame, eleusine, beans, sweet potatoes, bananas, manioc, etc.; tobacco is also cultivated. Sowing takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and the harvest is gathered three to four months later by the women. Men help in harvesting on the large plantations of the chief.

The raising of stock is carried on, particularly among the southern Logo; herds of goats and also hens and dogs are kept.

Hunting is a major activity for men. Spears, arrows, and hunting dogs are used.

The Logo keep bees and make beer from millet or eleusine.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

According to Breugelmans, “En 1907, et encore en 1917, il y avait les quatre grandes chefferies de Maruka, de Matafa, d’Ibu et de Surur; Maruka (région Faradje-Aba), règne sur les Logo, des Avokaya-Oigiga, Mundu, Baka et des Azande; Matafa, sur le territoire au nord de la Lowa et de Nzoro (Obi); Ibu, sur la région d’Aba; Surur (un Uele-Bari), sur le territoire entre la Kibali, la Lowa et la Nzoro.”

The organization was apparently hierarchical, but information on the powers and prerogatives of the chief is negligible. It is recorded that the office is hereditary; that the chief gets the tusks, as well as the trunk and intestines, of any elephant killed, and divides the meat. He is a judge in legal matters and has economic benefits and large plantations. Everyone who is not a chief is a client (“enfant”) of some chief. There are privileged clients who do nothing, but the majority must work. Breugelmans maintains that this is a type of feudal organization in which the privileged and unprivileged subjects of a chief do not eat together and in which the clients of a chief work on his plantations.

Clans are exogamous and patrilineal. The clan is responsible for its members and the duty of vengeance is acknowledged. The Gombe clan, to which Chief Maruka belonged, obtained a predominant position, and is

reported to have a special dialect of its own. Each clan has a totem but few observe any food taboos.

In a case of murder the clan of the victim is compensated by the handing over to it of a member of the murderer's clan. Guilt is established by the use of the poison ordeal; in the north-west *benge* poison is administered to a chicken which replaces the man in the trial. This seems to be an adoption of Zande practice.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth is paid in weapons, iron, goats, and often cattle. When the bride-wealth is paid the girl is taken, and some time later a feast is held. Monogamy is the general rule, although the chiefs seem to have had several wives.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MAGIC

There is a belief in the Supreme Being, *Tore (Ore, Ori, Tori, Djuka),* and the same word is used for anything that is insubstantial, such as the wind and echoes. It is also applied to the ancestral spirits.

The cult of the ancestors is the most important part of Logo religion and misfortune is believed to be caused if they are neglected. Offerings are made before the hut shrines which are specially constructed over the tombs.

Burial is near the hut. The body is placed in a niche in the grave shaft. A funeral feast is held and the tomb is marked by a small heap of stones. Formerly the favourite wives of chiefs were buried alive with the corpse of their husband.

The Logo believe that certain persons carry magic stones in their stomachs which can bring about death. They carry amulets to give success in hunting.

The Keliko and Avukaya [84]

DISTINCTIVE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FEATURES

Both Keliko and Avukaya, according to Gray, scar their foreheads with four rows of horizontal dots, as do the Pöjulu and Nyangbara; Stigand, however, wrote that "the face is not tattooed," but that some women used to insert brass or iron rings in their upper lips.

Formerly the Keliko were large cattle owners, but they now have very few. Men do the milking and women are not allowed to drink milk, nor do they eat eggs or the meat of cattle or goats.

Clans are not totemic, though among the Keliko, snakes, frogs, and carnivora are taboo. Elders *(baka)* are socially important and may in the past have exercised authority, as among the Moru. Young men enter the junior age-grade by initiation. There is, among the Keliko, a dependent class, *batonga* (strangers), who are clients

of wealthier men, and were generally either prisoners of war or men who had been unable to find their own bride-price.[85]

There appears to be belief in a being known as *Ovare.* A "planting" ceremony is performed among the Keliko and probably also by the Avukaya.[86] Rain-makers are not found, though among the Avukaya drought may be attributed to the action of certain individuals. Both peoples use recessed graves in which offerings are placed. The Avukaya dig the grave in an ant-hill and plant a notched grave-stick *(lishi)* on the mound which they then pepper with arrows.[87] Stigand writes that in the past both peoples used to bury cattle, slaves, and property with a dead chief or very rich man.[88]

The Southern or Madi Sub-Group

The Madi

There is considerable material, though uneven in value, on the Madi and Lugbara[89] in this sub-group which suggests that, if they are not two sections

of the same people, they are at least very similar in appearance, language and social organization.

This account of the Madi is based primarily on the articles of Mr. F. R. J. Williams,[90] which are based on observation of one section over a period of two or three years. This section of the Madi lives in the north-west corner of Uganda, immediately south of the Sudan border, and occupies an area on both banks of the Nile, about 20 miles to the west of the river and about 35 miles to the east. Several clans of Kuku and Kakwa origin live among them, but they appear to have been completely merged with the Madi. The Madi lineages in this area trace their descent back for 13 generations.[91]

DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

Seligman[92] reports that men go naked, but this may be customary only among those Madi who dwell close to the Bari. Madi women wear a girdle with a small apron before and a tassel behind. Red ochre, though less popular than formerly, is used as a medicine for ulcers and as a kind of baby powder. Only women past the menopause may prepare it, for it is believed to cause sterility if handled in its raw state.

The Madi marriage ceremony is said to be similar to that of the Azande. Pre-marital intercourse is customary, the boys having access to the girls in their huts. If a girl conceives, she is usually married to her customary companion, "after, of course, the transfer of bride-price,"[93] which is in the form of specially made hoes. According to McConnell,[94] cows are paid and the bridegroom works for his father-in-law.

After the birth of a child the mother is secluded for four days if it is a boy, three if it is a girl.[95] Barrenness was regarded as grounds for divorce.

The Madi bury their dead in a grave inside the hut in which they died, and erect a cairn of stones over the grave.[96]

Some Madi erect dolmens, similar to those erected by the Moru, over the graves of certain unspecified individuals.[97]

ECONOMY[98]

Until about 25 years ago the Madi of Uganda had large herds, but these were decimated by trypanosomiasis and today cattle are estimated as numbering only 7,000, that is, about one per taxpayer.[98a] But the Madi never, it seems, regarded their cattle with the affection typical of most Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites, and cattle-keeping has always been subsidiary to agriculture. In the past they practised a type of shifting cultivation which caused them to move every five or six years, owing to the exhaustion of the land. Certain large tracts of land were associated with particular clans and, as a rule, a clan only wandered within its own area. Nowadays land is at the disposal of chiefs appointed by the government, who rule over several clans and may reserve, for the planting of economic crops, large strips of land that were formerly the preserve of particular clans. The Administration encourages the concentration of individual cultivations into belts, as an anti-sleeping-sickness measure. The Madi have offered little resistance to this procedure because "provided a man has what he considers enough land to cultivate he is satisfied."

There is a tradition that in the past there was a system of co-operative cultivation, but this is no longer a regular feature, and attempts by the Administration to revive it have been unsuccessful. Nowadays each man hoes enough ground for the use of his wife or wives, who do the weeding and lighter work. Relatives and friends may assist with clearing, house-building, and canoe-making, on the understanding that such assistance is reciprocated. After any such co-operative endeavour, the man who receives assistance slaughters a bull and entertains his helpers.[99]

The elders, when consulted as to means for increasing the acreage under cultivation, agreed that each man and wife could cultivate approximately three acres of food crops, to which could be added two acres of cash crops, either cotton or simsim. The men participate more in the cultivation of the latter. The main crops[100] cultivated include millet, sweet potatoes, eleusine, ground-nuts, sesame, various beans, and a little cassava. The Madi are said to be rather short of food in some years, as their lands have suffered from soil erosion.[101]

The Madi hunt a great deal during the dry season and there are recognized hunt leaders in each clan. The eastern clans usually hunt in parties, the western as individuals or in small groups, using nets and snares. Both sections use the short jabbing spear and the spiked wheel-trap and dig pits. Hippopotamus meat is popular.

Fishing is an important activity, though catches vary considerably from year to year. Spears, nets, basket-traps and, in the dry season, poison, are all common methods.

A considerable iron-smelting industry is still carried on around Metu in west Madi, and there are about 50 blacksmiths in a total population of 1,200, who make spears, knives, hoes, and ornaments. These are sold throughout Madiland, both for use and as bride-price. The trade is not the prerogative of any particular clan, and any Madi may be apprenticed to the craft. Special huts with open sides are used as smithies.[102]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[103]

The smallest social and political unit is the household, consisting of a man and his wives and young children, and frequently also some of the married children and younger brothers. This unit occupies one homestead, generally consisting of several low mushroom-shaped or semi-spherical huts, grouped in a cluster round the tethering stakes of the cattle, the whole surrounded by a fence. There are usually separate huts for boys and girls, and each woman has her own granary. As a rule a homestead is built close to the gardens; they are usually separated from one another, sometimes by half a mile or more.

The head of a homestead is called *eidipi.* He settles disputes within it and offers sacrifices on behalf of members.

About 50 homesteads make up a *kaka,* or lineage, an exogamous group administered by its senior member and a number of elders (*amba eidri),* each of whom is responsible for a group of homesteads. The *kaka* is a corporate body, collectively responsible for the actions of its members. The *kaka* head has few coercive powers and is the voice, rather than the leader, of his lineage.

Several *kaka,* usually with one predominant, form a *suru* (which Williams translates as "clan") under a chief, *opi.* A *suru* is the largest indigenous social and political unit of the Madi, but in Uganda, at any rate, they have been grouped into counties with appointed chiefs.

Kaka are usually territorial groups, separated from each other by some natural boundary; the territory of a *suru* is similarly demarcated. Until they came under European administration, however, *sum* were continually on the move searching for better pasture and agricultural land, hunting, and fishing.

According to Williams, the *suru* is not exogamous, but as all members of a *suru* claim descent from a common ancestor, it is possible that some *kaka* are segments which have split off from more senior ones; exogamy may have lapsed with the increase in genealogical distance between the lineages thus separated.

Particular areas of the land occupied by each *suru* are spoken of as belonging to particular *kaka,* whose ancestors were the original occupiers of the land before the present dominant clan appeared. The present generation of this *kaka,* by virtue of the influence of their ancestors, have certain powers over the land. These powers are vested in the head of the *kaka,* the *vudipi (*" father of the land"), who alone is responsible for bringing prosperity to the land and warding off disease and famine. The *vudipi* can exorcise pests and no hunt is held without his approval. His position cannot be usurped and, even if he moves away to live elsewhere, he has to be called back to preside over certain ceremonies. He also has some judicial powers, and only he is able to purify the land of a *kaka* responsible for a homicide, by offering a sacrifice. If the guilty *kaka* does not pay compensation and provide a sacrifice, the *vudipi* can visit its land with misfortune.

The head of the *suru, opi,* is supreme in political and religious matters, though in the latter he has to depend upon the co-operation of the *vudipi.* The *opi* always belongs to the dominant *kaka* and is in the line of descent from the clan founder. His power depends on the assistance of the ancestors *(ori)* and he is bound to call upon them for aid when the *sum* needs it. An *opi* nominates his successor from among his brothers and sons. He is the leader in war and hunting and has the right to certain first fruits in good years and at all times to a share in the spoils of the chase.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CULTS[104]

The cult of the ancestors (*ori)* is the most important force in the life of the Madi, who believe that their ancestors survive after death as spirits, able to intervene in human affairs and to dispense good and bad fortune, the latter being the result of neglecting them. When a man is ill he immediately consults a witch-doctor (*odzo* or *odzogo)* to discover which ancestor is responsible. Williams writes that only witch-doctors are able to divine in this manner.

According to Molinaro, an *ori* is the spirit which, on a man's death, departs from his body into the abila,[105] a small thatched spirit hut built outside a man's dwelling. Sacrifices are made at it from time to time. If a man dies away from home, his spirit has to be coaxed into the *abila* by a witch-doctor. As long as a spirit is remembered by the living it stays in its *abila,* but after it has been forgotten it departs to join the other similar spirits, who dwell in certain sacred clumps of bushes. These spirits form the babu-garee[106] and have a hierarchy which corresponds to the temporal hierarchy.[107]

A lineage's power depends on the power of its *ori,* and the power of the *ori* depends upon men's memories of the power of their owners, so that "the hereditary status of a family controls the lives of its members to a very great extent."[108] Chiefs, rain-makers, and *vudipi* must spring from a lineage of chiefs, rain-makers, or *vudipi,* who use their influence to enable the present office-holders to fulfil their duties; and the living representative of a lineage is the living centre of the collective influence of countless descendants. Every lineage, whether important or not, has its own set of ancestors upon whom depend not only its good or ill fortune, but its social and political status and authority.

The Supreme Being of the Madi is also known as *Ori;* he is an all-seeing, incorporeal creator, who lives in the sky but takes little interest in human affairs. At some time, his wife or mother fell or was expelled from the sky in a shower of rain and when on earth multiplied her kind. For some time contact was maintained with the sky by means of a cow-hide rope, but this was bitten by a hyena and human attempts to replace it with a bamboo tower failed.[109]

In addition to the use of *Ori* as a term for the Supreme Being, the Madi also use the word *rabanga* which stands for the supernatural force "responsible for reproduction." Within this[110] overall meaning *rabanga* has several particular applications. It may be a spirit, Mother Earth, fertility, or the force from which the sun, moon, and stars sprang; a rain-maker prays to *rabanga* for rain; it is also connected with the birth of twins and is used to explain any mysterious or sinister happening for which the Madi cannot find any other cause. *Rabanga* is also associated with the *ori,* with sacred groves, and with snakes, but the details of this are not clear.

Rain-making

The most important ceremony connected with the religious beliefs of the Madi is that of rain-making. In the Madi area of north-west Uganda alone there are 45 rain-making centres, all associated with a particular clan and *vudipi.* All of these, with the exception of two or three,[111] use a special set of stones which are generally white. All the stones are supposed to have come out of the sky. They vary considerably in shape and size, but all are either male (conical and pointed) or female (conical and rounded) and the rain-maker is always quite certain which is which. An Acoli living in Madi country told Williams that the female stone should be depressed or hollow in the centre, and that the union of the two stones represented the insemination of the earth by the sky, but this symbolism is not expressed by the Madi themselves. The stones are kept away from the light in a pot, out of which, it is said, they jump in rainy weather. They are thought to be endowed with mystical powers and if handled by anyone but a rain-maker cause dropsy and sterility. Williams had to sacrifice a sheep to avoid evil consequences after he was shown a set of stones.[112]

To make rain the rain-maker[113] goes with his stones and pot to the sacred grove; he may be accompanied by the chief, *opi,* but this is only when he is acting at the request of the chief and is not essential. His chief wife usually accompanies him to cook.

The main elements of the ceremony are the same throughout Madiland, though there are variations in technique. The essentials are:

1. Smearing of stones with fat or oil.
2. An address to *rabanga* and former chiefs and *vudipi*.
3. Ceremonial eating of food.
4. Placing of stones in a little water.
5. The rain-maker being regarded as having sole responsibility.

If the ceremony fails to bring rain a further ceremony is performed, in which a black sheep is killed and eaten, and elders, children, and women past the menopause may attend the ceremony. If, despite this, rain still does not fall, the witch-doctor is consulted to divine which particular spirit is obstructing it. Some Madi make rain on the actual graves of their ancestors, in or close to their homesteads.

Witch-doctors (odzo, odzogo)[114]

The Madi consult witch-doctors in all doubtful situations, in sickness and accident, to interpret omens, or to see if the time is propitious for any new venture. The *odzo* divines by means of a number of pieces of buffalo hide (from 4 to 20) 3 to 4 ins. square, and some small stones and seeds, which he throws into a circle; he discovers the answer to his questions from the pattern in which they fall. The fee is five arrows or one or two shillings. The *odzo* may be called upon by the chief to act as an oracle in cases of poisoning, adultery, theft, and debt; in such cases he may use:

1. The method described above.
2. An apparatus consisting of a clay tube on top of a calabash (one for each suspect). He pours water into the tubes and the tube of the guilty person does not empty.
3. He may distribute medicated grass which will cause a guilty recipient to sicken.
4. He may use a spear, *onda,* which causes a weal to appear upon a poisoner. The punishment for poisoning was spearing to death. Since the Administration have prohibited this method of divination and trial, the Madi say that poisoning is on the increase.

Certain objects (*adra*) are thought to have special magical powers and to be capable of producing various diseases. They are kept by old men in some of the villages, who lend them out as the need arises. *Adra* may be bones or pieces of broken pots. If anyone is taken ill after having injured the owner of an *adra,* this is accepted as the resulting punishment. The cure is to ask pardon and to make reparation.

Leopard men are of vague origin and not associated with any particular clan; they wait outside homesteads and destroy their victims.

The Lugbara [115]

DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

Lugbara men, boys, and young girls used to go naked, but today most men wear some covering. Older girls and married women wear several rows of interlaced cords or beads; a small tuft of grass is bunched in front and the same is worn at the back.

Men and women periodically shave their heads although they may let the hair grow in the shape of a round or elliptical skull-cap on top of the head. Only the witch-doctors and those in mourning wear their hair long; a coiffure may indicate that a man is meditating vengeance.

Both boys and girls have the four lower incisor teeth extracted at the age of nine, and at puberty cicatrizations are made on the faces and bodies of both sexes. Facial scarification consists of four, five, or six lines of dots across the forehead following the curve of the eyebrow. Arms and abdomen are also scarred. The lower and upper lips are perforated in both sexes and iron rings are inserted into the holes. Ear-lobes are also pierced and ornamented with iron or copper rings. Men wear copper, ivory, or iron bracelets on their wrists and upper arms; women wear necklaces and always carry a small knife in the belt.

Before a dance and on certain other occasions Lugbara men and women apply paint to their bodies, using simsim oil and ochre. When a person dies the close kin paint themselves with mud, lime, flour, or ashes as a sign of mourning.

ECONOMY

Lugbara country consists of well-watered but almost treeless plains, and apart from a few outcrops of hills there are no distinctive features. The soil is good for cultivation and the pasturage adequate, although vegetation is not luxuriant except along the banks of the numerous watercourses. The dry season begins in November and ends towards the latter half of March when the rainy season begins.

The people today are pastoralists and agriculturists but they maintain that they were once essentially cattle-owners and large herds formed a great part of their wealth. But they suffered heavy losses through disease in the first 25 years of this century. Animals are sheltered in a kraal at night and are herded by youths. The people eat their dead livestock but rarely kill them specifically for food. They are slaughtered on special ritual occasions such

as births, marriages, funerals, and for sacrifices. The cows do not yield much milk though such milk as there is has a rich fat content. Sour milk is drunk and butter made. Game is not plentiful in Lugbara country, having been hunted out.

Cultivation plays a very important part in the economic life and the people are energetic and competent agriculturists. They let the land lie fallow every two or three years and have an elaborate system of mixed cropping and rotation. The main crops are the various millets and sorghums; other grains include simsim and maize. Cassava, beans, peas, ground-nuts, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables are cultivated. Other lesser crops are grown by women, who also care for the fields and do the weeding and harvesting. Men and women take part in harvesting the main crops.

Thick porridge, made from millet and sorghum, forms the chief food. Beer is also prepared from grains, chiefly maize. Vegetables form a relish and meat and fish are eaten only on special occasions. Honey and termites are greatly valued delicacies and salt is obtained from burning certain plants or cattle dung. Some meats are forbidden to women as are also eggs and chickens. Tobacco is not much used though a certain amount is grown.

Making pots and baskets, cooking food, weeding, and harvesting are women's tasks; men assist in cultivation when there is much to be done and they also do all the heavy clearing work. Children help the women to carry water and grind corn. Boys have the task of looking after the herds. Men are responsible for building huts.

CRAFTS

Each family enclosure contains several huts which are used as dwellings, for the preparation of food, and to provide separate homes for the wives of the head of the family. There are also special huts for boys and girls over eight years of age. Lugbara huts are round and small, constructed on a framework of branches and having a conical roof of light branches bound together. The roof is thatched with dry grass and the peak is sometimes ornamented with a pot or cattle horns. The walls are plastered with clay. A number of Lugbara will work together on the construction of the circular cattle kraal which usually contains a small hut to shelter the calves.

Sometimes the kraal is incorporated in the family enclosure and at night the goats and sheep are sheltered in the living huts.

A varying number of granaries are situated in each enclosure; they are raised from the ground and made of a light wooden framework plastered with clay with a movable roof of dry grass. Each wife has at least two granaries of her own. Beehives are made.

Weapons are bows and arrows, spears, and hide shields. Iron articles are made by Ndo smiths and include hoes, arrow-points, spear-heads, women's knives, bracelets, and rings. Smiths intermarry with Lugbara and do not have a subordinate status, but there appear to be certain observances attached to their work. Thus, while they are at work there must be complete silence in the neighbourhood, and during the period of extracting the mineral sexual intercourse is forbidden. Women may not watch smithing operations.

Women make pots of various kinds for cooking and storing food. Milk and honey are kept in calabashes. Many types of baskets are made and Lugbara are reputed as skilful basket-makers.

The juice of the euphorbia plant is extracted and used to poison the tips of arrows. A more virulent poison is made from the seeds of a certain tree. Poison is used in blood revenge.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Very little has been recorded of the Lugbara mode of organization previous to European occupation and the establishment of an alien system.

The Lugbara have no centralized political authority. In most parts of the countiy settlement is very dense. It is said that formerly a village, surrounded by a hedge, was the home of a joint family, as it still is among the Madi, but in Lugbara today each elementary family lives in its own village or compound (*aku); aku* are scattered over the countryside with no apparent "boundary" between them. They are grouped into larger units called *ori'ba,* based on agnatic descent groups of three to five generations in depth. *Ori'ba* are grouped into *suru,* which might be referred to as "sub-clans." These sub-clans are grouped into larger and vaguely defined territorial groups also called *sum,* which are the largest political groups, each consisting, on an average, of some 5,000 persons. Clans are dispersed and never form or are regarded as forming corporate units in any situation. The widest group with

its own head is the sub-clan: there are no indigenous chiefs and no "councils of elders."[116]

The authority of the elder of an *ori'ba* extends over a limited territory and the majority of them are only leaders of small groups. The only indication of their prerogatives is the fact that each exacts a hoe as the payment required of a newcomer when he settles in the clan territories. When an elder dies, he is usually succeeded by his brother or eldest son, but he reserves the right to designate a younger son or even a sister's son as his successor.

The Lugbara practise the blood feud. Vengeance is usually taken at night when the victim is speared while sleeping. Poison is also used as a means of killing. According to McConnell[117] those accused of murder may endure an ordeal by poison. *Oari,* a decoction of euphorbia juice, is particularly used in this connection. The accused is made to drink the poison; if he vomits and survives he is then proved to be innocent and is set free. Sometimes a fowl is substituted for the accused person and undergoes the poison ordeal in his place.

Compensation might be paid by a murderer to the kin of the murdered man or woman—three cows and two bulls for the murder of a man, four cows and two bulls for the murder of a woman, and less for children. Payments vary in different parts of the country.

Formerly the Lugbara kept war captives in a servile position, but they would usually be regarded as "sister's sons" and would become founders of subordinate lineages.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Childhood

If a birth is likely to be difficult the witch-doctor is called in and he smears the blood of a sacrificed goat on the doorstep. During the birth the woman must reveal the true identity of the child's father. After the birth the father kills a chicken or goat in order to preserve the baby from illness. The mother is secluded for four days if she has given birth to a boy, for three days if the child is a girl. At the end of this period a feast is held and the next day the child is named. The parents usually bestow the name and the one

given by the mother is particularly esteemed. The name usually refers to some notable event connected with the birth, or to some characteristic of the child or its mother. Children are not weaned until two or three years of age and during this period no relations between husband and wife are allowed.

Twins are regarded as being due to the intervention of *adro,* and a goat is sacrificed immediately at their birth. If this were not done it is thought that the father or mother would die. It is reported that formerly twins were abandoned in the bush and abnormal children killed.

The Lugbara have no formal "initiation" and do not practise circumcision.

Marriage

A girl may be betrothed about the time of puberty, but marriage cannot take place until the man can produce the bridewealth. The parents and relatives of the couple meet and discuss the union and the bridewealth, and if an agreement is reached, a goat, sheep, bull, or hoe is presented to the girl's father. If he accepts it the couple are regarded as being engaged.

There is often considerable difficulty over the bridewealth, and discussions and negotiations may drag on for months if the girl's father is extortionate. The amount of bridewealth varies according to circumstances, and today usually consists of up to seven cows or their equivalent in goats or sheep; hoes and arrows are also included. Immediately payment begins, the girl goes to the house of her future parents-in-law and begins to work for them. In Uganda, however, it is the man who, with his friends, works in the fields of his future in-laws. This may last four months. If a beast of the bridewealth dies it must be replaced even though it is already in the hands of the girl's father. After the lapse of a year, or if the creature has offspring, this does not apply.

Marriage ceremonies vary in the different areas, but when the bridewealth has been accepted the celebration of the marriage follows shortly afterwards. The main ceremony is called *ejofe* and consists of the ritual crushing of an egg placed in a small tunnel connecting two holes which have been dug in the earth. Arrows, which have been driven into the earth at the same time, are then distributed among the girl's brothers, who also partake of some flour and milk brought by the fiancé. The girl joins her fiancé later or on the next day when he has returned to his village. The real wedding ceremony,

the *yambara,* appears to be held at the time of the harvest, when the girl's father provides a feast by killing a young bull and sending the meat to his son-in-law.

A woman who has not borne a child is called *amuru,* which suggests that the marriage is not regarded as complete until the first birth. As long as a woman is *amuru* she is forbidden to eat with her husband or with the people of his village. When the husband has sent a hoe or a goat to his mother-in-law the wife no longer eats alone. Marriage thus seems to consist of a number of recognized stages, each marked by certain ceremonies and modes of behaviour.

Polygamy is permitted but the majority of men have only one wife.

Barrenness is regarded as a reason for divorce. A divorced woman usually returns to her parents who should repay the bridewealth to the husband's family, although deductions can be made for the time spent by the couple together; if there are children of the union a beast of the same sex as the child is deducted for each child bom. A woman has the right to leave her husband if it appears that she can have no children by him.

A woman, after the death of her husband, is usually inherited by his brother or some close male relative. If she wishes to return to her parents she may do so, but they must give a cow to the man who has the right to inherit her. If she has not borne children, two cows must be given.

Burial

The funeral rites of different clans differ in details. A man is buried under a granary or in his hut; burial takes place in the daylight. During the four days following the burial the widow(s) remain in the mortuary hut, various groups of kin come to wail and dance, and a ritual distribution of arrows is made. On the fourth day the witch-doctor comes to purify the habitation, after which the widow may reoccupy the house. When a woman dies the husband indicates the place where the grave is to be. Mourning and dancing for a woman lasts three days and during this time the widower remains secluded in his hut.

RELIGION AND RITUAL

The Lugbara believe in a Supreme Being, called variously *Adro, Adroa, Adronga, Adrogua. Adro* has two aspects, *Adro 'ba o'bapiri (Adro,* the Creator of men), who lives in the sky, and *Adro'ba adupiri (Adro,* the taker of men), who lives in the streams. In the latter aspect he takes the form of spirits called *adrogo* or *adro* who live in streams, rocks, trees, etc., and of whom people are very frightened. There is no cult of *Adro.* There are also spirits who wander "like the wind" and bring disease.

The ancestral cult is important. The Lugbara believe that after a short period the spirit *(on)* of every deceased person returns to live under the ground of his compound or the roof of his hut. The ancestors are regarded as taking an active part in the affairs of the living and are approached frequently to avert misfortune and to gain favour. *Orijo* are small shrines in the form of huts which are erected at the direction of a diviner as dwellings for the spirits. These small constructions of stone are to be seen in every Lugbara village and are usually placed between the supports of the granary. When a person has angered his ancestors, or if he is ill, he propitiates the spirits by offerings and sacrifices. Ramponi describes a number of other shrines—the *jaga* shrine where sacrifices are made to help married couples, the *romangi* shrine at which first fruits are offered, and the *uniguru* shrine on which offerings of milk and millet are made to avert cattle sickness.[118] Shrines differ in various parts of Lugbara.

The witch-doctor *(ojou)* is characterized by his long hair. The office is hereditary in the female line and women may practise. The duties of an *ojou* are to divine and to cure sickness.

Rain-makers are called *opi ozogo dri* (masters of the rain). Each possesses three or four quartz rain-stones, which they formerly took from the Bari and Kakwa. During the rainy season the stones are kept in calabashes and hidden in a granary. In certain regions they are sheltered under a sacred tree. During the dry period the calabash is broken in a river, the stone is washed and a sacrifice made. Rain-makers are found only in the northern areas, next to the Kakwa. It is believed that the soul of a rain-maker may enter into a leopard.

Divination and Oracles

Ramponi gives considerable information on the various forms of divination among the Lugbara. The *acife ndri piri* is the most common

diviner; he is invariably a man and his task is to detect the agent who is causing sickness or misfortune. The oracle he uses is a small ebony stick or cane, with a piece of string tied round the middle. The names of the suspects mentioned by the client are repeated as the stick is twirled and the string moves up and down. If the cord stops moving at the mention of one of the names, the source of evil is thus divined. Other forms of oracle, used only in confirmation of the findings of *acife,* are *buro* (chicken oracle), *onda* (boiling-water oracle), and *gbagba* (rat oracle). They are described by Ramponi.

Another diviner, who is usually a woman, is the *koyo yapiri,* who has a calabash *(koyo)* rattle containing small beads which represent the voice of the spirits. The *koyo yapiri* is more highly esteemed than the *acife ndri piri;* she divines when in a state of possession and communicates with the spirits by shaking the rattle. The fee paid for divination is a goat. Only those who have the approval of *Adro* may divine. When a person is possessed by *Adro* —as indicated by certain types of excitable and irregular behaviour—a shrine is prepared and the neophyte is initiated into his new status with various sacrifices and rituals. Sometimes the divining skills are taught by practitioners. Among the Northern Lugbara only children of diviners are initiated into the art; in addition to teaching, the phenomenon of possession is also regarded as necessary.

Among the Lugbara witches and those possessing the power of the evil eye are called *oleu* or *ole'ba.* There appears, however, to be a different group of practitioners who use poisons. They are greatly feared and hated.

The " Sacred Water " Cult

Tradition records that sacred water—called *dede* or *yakan*—was brought to the Lugbara by the Kakwa and given by Yakan who dwelt at a spring of the same name. A revival of the cult occurred in 1918 and 1919 and led to severe riots directed against the Administration.

The cult had a hierarchical organization, there being three degrees of membership. The highest rank consisted of the owners of the sacred water, and they alone knew all the Yakan songs and dances and had the right to carry a stick carved in special wood. The members of the next rank distributed sacred water which they had bought from the owners, but did not

know all the songs and dances of the cult. The members with the lowest status were those who merely took part in the rituals practised.

Each owner of sacred water kept a temple where the subscriptions of members were stored. Iron rings, arrows, and chickens were paid, the first two ranks of the hierarchy paying more than the last. At the meetings the local head distributed sacred water from a calabash on which a snake—the symbol of the cult—was carved. Each member drank some of the water or sprinkled it on his head and chest three times. Sometimes a drug was added to it. A sacrifice of chickens and a dance followed.

The cult offered various advantages to its members, such as immunity from death caused by illness, and the return to life of the ancestors and of dead cattle. It also provided a safeguard against punishment from the Administration if taxes were not paid or if laws were broken, and made members invulnerable against the rifles of the government soldiers. It was believed that anyone who refused to drink the sacred water would change into a termite after death. It would appear that the cult was an encouragement to the Lugbara to fight the European occupation and to organize periodic revolts.[119]

The Luluba [120]

The Luluba have been in their present area for about 12 generations. Some 120 years ago they received some immigrant Pojulu, whom they accepted as chiefs because of their rain-making powers. Beaton also mentions five clans of Bari origin, two of Lokoya, one of Lotuko, and six presumed to be aboriginal. The chiefs own the rain-stones.

The Luluba, although Madi-speaking, have been much influenced by the Bari; they have a *monyekak,* a *monyemere,* an age-class system, many Bari burial customs, and they despise smiths. Their system of land distribution is similar to that of the Madi.

The Lendu [121]

DRESS

Lendu men wear leather loincloths tied with thongs and decorated with iron beads. A skin is worn over the shoulder and leather sandals on the feet. Women either go naked or wear bunches of leaves suspended round the waist. Iron and copper neck-rings and bracelets are worn and occasionally ivory bracelets. Every Lendu man and woman carries a knife. Collars of leopards' teeth or claws may be worn only by witch-doctors and chiefs. Both sexes pierce the ears, nostrils, upper and sometimes lower lips, and copper rings or sticks of quartz are inserted. There appears to be no mutilation or extraction of teeth.

ECONOMY

The Lendu are mainly agriculturists today, though stock-raising still plays an important part in their economic life. Formerly they had large numbers of cattle but the herds have been much depleted by disease. Every Lendu has a herd of goats, some sheep and poultry. Cattle are slaughtered only if they are old or ill. The skins are used for clothing and butter as a toilet grease. Milk is being used increasingly as a food.

The main crops grown are sweet potatoes, beans, maize, sorghum, eleusine, cassava, and tomatoes and onions have been introduced recently. Plots are cultivated by a man or his wife, or by a group of people. A hoe, with a blade shaped like an ace of spades, is the chief implement used.

The Lendu are keen hunters, and go out individually, in groups of three or four, or in large parties. These communal hunts, in which 200-300 people may participate, take place in the dry season and last several days. Dogs are used. Fishing is done with a line, net, or wicker trap.

Trade takes the form of exchanging merchandise with neighbours, the articles exchanged being baskets, hoes, knives, agricultural produce, and dried fish, as well as goats and sheep.

Diet consists of agricultural produce and various meats, such as elephant, rat, wild cat, leopard, and crocodile, but never sparrow-hawk, dog, snake, hyena, donkey, or monkey; the last is regarded as sacred. Bad eggs are also eaten, fresh ones being reserved for old people.

CRAFTS

The Lendu have a considerable reputation as smiths and make knife-blades, spears, arrow-heads, rings, collars, etc. Pottery is made, by women only, from green, red, or black clay. Most of the articles made are for domestic use and may be decorated with geometrical designs. They also make excellent baskets.

Huts are distinctive, the formation of the roofs giving them the appearance of beehives. Wood-working is little developed and weaving unknown.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is very little information on Lendu social organization, but the patrilineal clan seems to be its basis.

There is no centralized political authority, the country being divided up into a number of autonomous chiefdoms. It is not clear to what extent these are connected with the clans. Chiefs are said to be hereditary in clans and sub-clans, although they can sometimes, apparently, name their own successors. They are called *dzadi ba,* after the sacred tree *dzadi,* which has played an important part in Lendu history and is thought to symbolize the chiefly power. The *dzadi ba* ("grand sorcier-chef") has both political and religious power and, in addition to representing his people before the Administration, decides the times of sowing, conducts initiation ceremonies and blesses hunters and their arms. He is entitled to help at harvest time and in hut-building and to certain animals or parts of animals killed in the chase.

War chiefs *(pi)* are also mentioned.

Councils of elders of families, villages, sub-clans, and clans operate in their respective spheres as courts of law.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Initiation

A child is named when 10 days old. Boys are circumcised at the age of seven or eight, the operation being performed without ceremony by the *dzadi ba*. Boys are secluded for two months, during which time they are instructed in tribal lore. There is no information about similar ceremonies for girls.

Marriage

Formerly a girl had no say in the choice of a husband, but nowadays the girl and her suitor meet in the girls' hut (*sodza*) and if she accepts him he then approaches her father to arrange the bridewealth. This may be paid all at once or in instalments and seems to consist of hoes, goats, and sometimes cattle in varying amounts.

A form of "trial "marriage exists in which, if the girl's parents approve, a partial payment is made. If the attempt leads to a permanent union the remainder of the bridewealth must be handed over; if nothing comes of it anything that has been paid is returned.

Marriage by exchange was formerly practised, but has now been stopped by the Administration.

The marriage ceremonies are simple. The first festival (*tso*) lasts several days and the girl is then taken to her husband's village. Here she prepares the second wedding feast (*notsu*) in the hut of her father-in-law, assisted by her companions. This lasts two to five days and the marriage is then consummated. After a month in the husband's father's hut the couple move to their own.

Death and Burial

Death is usually attributed to the wrath of the ancestral spirits. Opinion seems to be divided as to whether the grave is dug in the hut or outside it. The corpse is wrapped in bark-cloth and skins, and lies on a bed of skins. The corpse of a witch-doctor lies on medicinal herbs. The funeral ceremonies and dances last four days for a man, three for a woman.

RELIGION, RITUAL, AND MAGIC

Some authorities maintain that the Lendu believe in a Supreme Being, *Gindri,* but generally the cult of *dra* or *dja* has taken its place. *Dra* is interpreted variously as the name of the Supreme Being, a mountain, or a plant called *tse* with special curative properties. *Dra* is also believed to be a kind of avenging spirit which can point out a guilty person when consulted by the practitioners of the cult (*dra'ba*). Special huts *(dradza)* are set aside for the cultivation of the *tse* herb.

The ancestor cult is also important. The spirit of an ancestor *(go)* is likely to do harm to the living until he is propitiated and finally retires into the ancestral spirits' hut *(godza)*. Practitioners both of *dra* and of *go* appear to be regarded as intermediaries between the living and the dead.

There is a profound belief in the powers of witch-doctors. There are many different kinds, each of whom is a specialist in some particular line, headed by the *dzadi'ba* (see p. 126 above) and the *goba* ("master of the spirits "). The latter chooses would-be recruits, who must undergo a long period of initiation. All witch-doctors must be paid by those who consult them.

The diviner *(nru'ba)* picks out the names of enemies by manipulating an instrument made of pieces of skin or wood stuck into the ground which vibrate when touched with a special stick. It is said, however, that a *dra'ba* is more usually consulted.

Notes

1 1940, p. 3.

2 According to Hutereau (1922, p. 312) the Logo were originally included in the term *Baku*, taken from the cries of the people in times of stress.

3 *Handbook of African Languages,* vol. III. (In preparation.)

4 Op. cit., chap. II and pp. 36-9.

5 Nalder, 1937, p. 10.

6 The Lugbara who live on high ground cut off from the Nile and Bahr el Ghazal Valleys were hardly touched by slavers or European contact before 1900. (Middleton, personal communication, 1952.)

7 Middleton, ibid.

8 Czekanowski, 1924, II, p. 515, quoted by Tucker, 1940, p. 37.

9 Breugelmans, MS.

10 Van Geluwe, MS.

11 Tucker, 1940, p. 3. The correct pronunciation is Moro, which is used sometimes in composite words, but Moru has become common usage, to avoid confusion, in missionary circles, with the South Sea Moro. Moru is used sometimes for non-Moru tribes; the true Moru peoples are listed below.

12 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (a).

13 Tucker, loc. cit.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid. Tucker writes "west," but as can be seen from the map, it is south.

16 Ibid., p. 4.

17 Ibid., p. 3.

18 Ibid., p. 4.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951. Appendix 2 (a).

22 Tucker, op. cit., p. 4.

23 *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, pp. 365 and 523.

24 In Nalder, 1937, p. 184. Gray spells Ojila as Azila.

25 1925, p. 13.

26 Nalder, 1937, p. 185.

27 Stigand (1923, p. 58) notes "a considerable number of Kaliko among the Kakwa."

28 Personal communication from the Rev. Professor G. Van Bulck, S.J.

29 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951. Appendix 2 (a).

30 Tucker, 1940, p. 5.

31 Personal communication from Mile. O. Boone, Musée du Congo Belge.

32 Tucker, loc. cit.

33 Middleton, personal communication, 1952.

34 1 948 Census.

35 Figures from Chef de Poste, Aru.

36 Middleton, personal communication, 1952.

37 Ibid.

38 *Equatoria Handbook*, 1951. Appendix 2 (a). 1948 statistics given.

39 Tucker, 1940, pp. 7-8.

40 *Equatoria Handbook.* 1951. Appendix 2 (a).

41 Tucker, op. cit., p. 8.

42 *Handbook of African Languages,* vol. III. (In preparation.)

43 Seligman, 1932, p. 463.

44 Evans-Pritchard, 23, 1937, chart 1.

45 Czekanowski, 1924.

46 Seligman, op. cit., p. 464.

47 Czekanowski, op. cit.

48 McConnell, 1925.

49 Czekanowski, op. cit.

50 Nalder, 1937, pp. 175-9.

51 Ibid., pp. 156 and 177. Presumably this was an anti-sleeping-sickness measure, and it may be that the Moru now live in dispersed homesteads, as formerly, and as the Azande do. They lost most of their cattle to Azande, Egyptians, Mahdists, and Belgians. The intervening fly belt makes it difficult to reintroduce them.

52 Ibid., p. 58, and Staniforth, 1948, p. 221.

53 For details see Staniforth, op. cit., pp. 180-1. The three types of hunting are: *fafa,* with nets; *mara,* a drive; *lendi,* using fire circles. There are many myths and much magic associated with hunting.

54 See Evans-Pritchard, 1, 1927.

55 Staniforth, op. cit., p. 183.

56 Mynors, 2, 1941, p. 206.

57 Nalder, 1937, p. 157.

58 1932, p. 484.

59 See, however, account of rain-makers, below.

60 Seligman, 1932, pp. 159-60.

61 Presumably the incisors.

62 Seligman, op. cit., pp. 157-9.

63 Ibid., p. 483.

64 This belief is peculiar to the Moru.

65 Nalder, 1937, p. 158.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., p. 159.

68 Ibid., pp. 167-9.

69 Seligman, 1932, p. 483. Formerly it was in cows; it is now 15 hoes, or, in the 1930s, £3.

70 The two shave their heads beside the grave of the deceased husband.

71 Nalder, op. cit., p. 156.

72 This section is based on Evans-Pritchard's "A Note on Rain-makers among the Moro "(1938), and all otherwise unacknowledged references are to this article. He points out that the Bori reckon their descent from Ozuongo, only four generations back; that they are only found among the southern Moru; that their rain-making is similar to that of the people to the south-west of them, and that they do not erect the type of megalithic grave monuments used by the northern Moru; he suggests, therefore, that "the Moro have settled in their home in recent times, and that previously the Bongo-Mittu-Baka group and the Bari-speaking peoples were coterminous."

73 1926.

74 This is, seemingly, of the ordinary type.

75 Cf. Madi, p. 117 below.

76 This section is based on Fraser, 1926; all information not otherwise acknowledged is from this source.

77 Seligman, 1932, p. 486.

78 Women facing east, men west.

79 Seligman, op. cit., p. 486.

80 Evans-Pritchard, 19, 1935, p. 160. There are photographs which illustrate these graves and stones in the above article and also in Seligman, op. cit., plate LI.

81 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 156.

82 Ibid., p. 157.

83 Little is known of the tribal groups making up the Madi Central Sub-group. The following account of the Logo is derived in particular from Breugelmans's MS., which is a useful summary of the literary sources.

84 Nalder, 1937, pp. 183-4 (quoting Major Gray).

85 Ibid., p. 27. Presumably with the introduction of wage labour this class will disappear.

86 Ibid., p. 26.

87 Ibid., pp. 169-70, and Seligman, 1932, p. 488 and plate LIII. Seligman's information is based on evidence by Evans-Pritchard.

88 Stigand, 1923.

89 See below, pp. 120-25.

90 "Brief Notes on Economic Life "and "Tribal Organization" (unpublished); also "Pagan Religion of the Madi "in the *Uganda Journal,* 1949. His MS. "The History of the People of Relli "tells of the Kakwa clans who dwell between Rhino Camp and Madi.

91 Williams, "Tribal Organization." Madi and Kuku have intermarried for many years. Stigand (1923, p. 25) and Birch (1938, pp. 119-22) list many Sudan Madi clans of Pojulu, Kuku, Acoli, Anuak, Bari, and Luluba origin. From Birch's account it would appear that there must be some prestige attached to claiming a Bari origin. "The Sudan Madi can trace their genealogies for 200 years." (Nalder, 1937, p. 155.)

92 1 932, p. 490.

93 *Emin Pasha in Central Africa,* 1888, p. 103.

94 1925.

95 McConnell, 1925.

96 Stigand, 1923.

97 McConnell, op. cit.

98 Based on Williams.

98a Emin Pasha wrote (p. 365) that the Madi were formerly very rich in cattle.

99 Stigand (1923, p. 95) confirms this, and McConnell (1925, p. 452) states that the Lugbara do much the same.

100 Tothill, 1948, p. 267. McConnell's and Williams's lists of crops are much the same.

101 Tothill, loc. cit.

102 Birch (1, 1937) says that this trade survives only among the Metu, i.e., the section described by Williams. He gives a description of the huts, furnaces, and techniques.

103 This section is based on Williams's MS. on tribal organization. There is considerable similarity between Madi organization and that described by Peristiany for the Pokot and Kipsigis.

104 Most of this section is based on Fr. Molinaro (we have not seen his article in *La Nigrizia,* 1927, but Nalder writes that "it is nearly copied out here," i.e., pp. 186-8), and, particularly on Williams, 1949.

105 Williams uses the name *bila* for dolmens, consisting of a flat stone about 2 ft. long supported on two uprights.

106 Williams and Molinaro.

107 Williams only.

108 Williams, op. cit.

109 Molinaro reports this of the Sudan Madi, who may in this have come under Nilotic influence.

110 Williams, op. cit.

111 These clans just address *rabanga* at their sacred groves.

112 Rogers, 1927, agrees so far with Williams. Spire, 2, 1905, gives an account of Bari technique which is similar. McConnell, 1925, states that the Lugbara use a similar technique with stones won in war from the Bari, but there are only two or three rain-makers, which suggests that the method has permeated to the Lugbara through the Madi from the Bari.

113 The rain-maker may be a *vudipi* or an *opi.* Williams's account is used here. There seem to be local differences. Rogers agrees with Williams, in the main, but Molinaro differs in many respects.

114 Williams, loc. cit.

115 This section is based on an unpublished MS. by H. van Geluwe and on information personally communicated by John Middleton, 1952.

116 Middleton, personal communication, 1952.

117 1925.

118 Ramponi, 1937.

119 Driberg, 1931.

120 This section is based on Beaton's account in Nalder, 1937, pp. 188-91.

121 Information for this section has been taken from an unpublished MS. by H. van Geluwe, which is a summary of the literature.

III.
The Bongo-Baka Group

Tribal Groups

The peoples of this group are scattered and diverse, even more so than the other language groups which have been considered. In addition, very little has been recorded about them. Tucker[1] and Seligman[2] are in general agreement as to the tribes which make up the Bongo-Baka group, while information from Evans-Pritchard[3] confirms their classification.

The following is a brief account of the names, locations, and populations (where known) of the various tribes. Most of the information is taken from Tucker and Evans-Pritchard.

1. THE BONGO

An extensive group even at the time of Schweinfurth, when the Arab slavers had been busy; they are today found in two main settlements:

(a) The majority of the Bongo (numbering 550 taxpayers)[4] live in Tonj district, where they have been placed along government roads. These, according to Tucker,[5] are under Chief Kerasit.

(b) Another smaller group (300 taxpayers) lives south of Wau on the Dem Zubeir road under Chief Sabun.

There are other small and scattered settlements. Evans-Pritchard notes that there are still some Bongo in Tembura district, interspersed among the

Azande and Belanda, and Tucker mentions an isolated colony, reported to be living along the Iba River from 5° 50' N. to 6° 10' N. calling themselves "Bungo" and under a village headman or chief named Toi.[6]

2. THE BAKA[7]

Most of the Baka live round Maridi under Chiefs Nganzio, Lanzima, Bakinda, and Senambia. They extend south into the Belgian Congo and number 2,033 taxpayers. There is a group north-west of Yei consisting of 380 taxpayers under Chief Gungo. There are two isolated groups (4,000) in the Congo, north-west and northeast of Faradje, and a few Baka together with Mundu are reported north of Maridi. The 1948 Census estimated 3,000 Baka taxpayers in the Mongalla area of the Sudan.[8]

3. THE AMADI DISTRICT PEOPLES[9]

The term "Moro" has been used to describe all the peoples in Amadi district regardless of the substantial differences which exist between them and the fact that some belong to the Moru-Madi Group and others to the Bongo-Mittu-Baka Group.

The following belong to the Bongo-Baka Group:

(a) The Morokodo, living around Amadi Post and, according to Tucker, numbering 625 taxpayers. Tucker also mentions a smaller section north of Maridi and a very small group living among the Ma'di.[10]

(b) The Wira and Biti,[11] small groups living north-east of the Morokodo. Tucker[12] mentions two other small tribes, the Ma'di and Ma'du, and states that all four peoples are sometimes mistaken for the Moru.

(c) The Nyamusa, north-west of the Morokodo (900 taxpayers).

4. THE RUMBEK DISTRICT PEOPLES

The name of "Jur" has been given to all the various non-Dinka peoples of this district, thus obscuring the fact that, although all belong to the Bongo-Baka language group, at least three distinct languages are spoken among them.

(a) Lori, north-west of the Nyamusa, near neighbours of the Lali and Modo;[13] the Lori language is closely related to Nyamusa and Wira.

(b) Gberi and Mittu, west of M'volo. Mittu call themselves Wetu and speak a dialect of Gberi (related to the language of Morokodo and Biti); only a few families now survive mixed with other groups.

(c) 'Belt, the largest of the units in the Rumbek district. They extend north of Toinya Post to meet the Gok Dinka, and their western neighbours are the Bongo. The "Sopi" (Soft), who lie between Toinya Post and M'volo, speak a dialect of'Beli.'Beli and Sopi are closely related to Bongo.

The population of the Rumbek Jur is given as 7,258 by Tucker.

5. OTHER GROUPS

Apart from these peoples, who make up the main Bongo-Baka group outside the French territories, Tucker reports, on recent information, that some of the peoples of the Western Bahr el Ghazal show linguistic affinities with the Bongo-Baka. These include the "Yulu" (241 taxpayers)[14] about whom Santandrea[15] gives linguistic information, the "Kara" and "Binga" (83 and 194 taxpayers respectively),[16] the Aja (150 taxpayers), and probably the Runga (150 taxpayers) and Ngulguli (280 taxpayers). All these "show remarkable vocabulary resemblance to Bongo-Baka, although no grammatical material is as yet forthcoming. These tribes are for the most part an overflow from tribes in French Equatorial Africa, the boundary of which is very near."[17] The "Sinyar" on the border of Darfur and French Equatorial Africa also show a vocabulary resemblance to Bongo-Baka.

6. THE KREISH[18]

Also known as "Kapala" and "Gbaya," number 2,000 taxpayers.[19] They have been classified with the Banda group but, according to Tucker, they appear to be related to the Bongo-Baka.

The main Kreish groups are:

(a) Eastern Kreish (including the Gbaya-Ndogo), 450 taxpayers formerly inhabiting the regions south and south-west of Dem Zubeir and now moved to the Raga—Said Bandas road.

(b) Western Kreish (including the Naka), 900 taxpayers, immediately west of Gbaya-Ndogo. West of the Naka live a mixed population of Hofra, Boko, Kutowaka, and others.

(c) Woro, a small group of Kreish (50 taxpayers)[20] living on the Kuru River south of the main group.

The peoples of the Bongo-Baka linguistic group possess certain common physical and cultural characteristics and all have been disrupted by Zande raids, Arab slavers, and ivory traders. Only for the Bongo is there any coherent information.

The Bongo

The following account is based on material from Evans-Pritchard[21] and Schweinfurth.[22]

NAME

They refer to themselves as "Bongo"—meaning "the men." The Dinka call them Dor and sometimes Fanatongnying—eaters of boiled *durra,* i.e., old women. The Shilluk-speaking Luo call them "O bong," the Azande today call them "A-Bunga," the Jur of Rumbek call them "Munga."[23]

LOCATION AND POPULATION (See p. 128)

Schweinfurth, in 1878, reckoned that the Bongo population had been so reduced by Arab slave and ivory traders that it did not exceed 100,000. The destruction continued, Azande succeeding the Arabs as persecutors. Evans-Pritchard in 1929 estimated the total Bongo population to be less than 5,000 souls.

LANGUAGE

Bongo is related to the languages of the Baka, Mittu, 'Beli, Sopi, and other peoples mentioned previously in this section. There are slight dialectal differences among the Bongo tribes themselves. The Zande language is spreading among the Bongo of the Tonj area, among whom there is a large sprinkling of Azande; moreover every dry season the Bongo go south for several months to hunt in Zande country.

DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

Richards[24] describes them as small and of sturdy build and this sums up the descriptions given by Schweinfurth and Petherick and the early travellers. The men wear skin aprons hung back and front from the waist girdle.[25] Women wear a bunch of grass fastened to a girdle in front and some wear a long tail hanging from the back of the girdle. Both sexes wear a considerable number of ornaments—armlets, anklets, necklaces, etc., and both sexes pierce the upper lip and insert pieces of straw. Schweinfurth reports the use of lip-plugs by married women but Evans-Pritchard considers that even in Schweinfurth's time this was probably never more than a local custom and not a tribal characteristic.[26] Nose and ear ornaments are worn widely. Bongo women tattoo the upper part of their arms; some men, though not all, tattoo the upper parts of their bodies.

Both sexes remove four—sometimes two—lower incisors before or about the time of puberty. Circumcision, formerly unknown, is being introduced by the Azande in the south.

HISTORY

Evans-Pritchard considers that the Bongo and related tribes of the Rumbek district originally came from the Uele River basin in the Congo, moving north from their homeland before the series of invasions of which the Azande formed the last and most powerful wave (see p. 21 above). A small group of Bongo who remained on the Congo River give evidence of the existence of a much larger group inhabiting the area in the past.[27]

When the early travellers discovered the Bongo they were even then but a remnant of a "once large group of tribes occupying an immense area"; detribalization had already begun and was being accelerated by the establishment of the slave raiders' *zeribas*. The Bongo—who appear to have lived in tribes separated from each other by miles of uninhabited bush—broke up completely. Some tribes took refuge in Dinka country to the north-east, others died out through starvation and slavery, others went to live near the *zeribas*. Thus disorganized, the Bongo were soon overcome by the conquering Azande. Heuglin[28] gives an interesting account of the process of Zande conquest and relates the story that the chief of the Mittu united several Bongo tribes and repulsed the oncoming Azande. This temporary unity did not survive the outbreak of tribal disputes which followed the withdrawal of the Azande and the assassination of the Mittu chief. The Zande chiefs overran the country and the Bongo tribes on the banks of the Maridi were ordered to go and live in Tembura's country, between the Sueh and Iba. They only returned after the British occupation.[29]

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

In the dry season agriculture is abandoned and the majority of the Bongo, who are famed as hunters, live in the bush in temporary shelters, hunting and fishing. They use poisoned spears and arrows, as well as a large variety of traps and snares. Extensive fire battues are organized for elephant hunting, or attacks by spear from a tree. Netting animals is practised in the winter. Formerly, before tribal disintegration, each tribe had its own hunting areas.

Fishing is practised mainly at the beginning of the rainy season and again when the waters begin to fall. Streams are dammed up and basket traps are used.

The Bongo possess few animals—dogs, hens,[30] small numbers of goats and sheep—being primarily agriculturists. They cultivate sorghum, pencillaria, eleusine, sesame, etc. Women and men hoe the cultivations but the women and children have sole charge of weeding and harvesting the millet crop. Tobacco is cultivated universally and used for smoking and chewing. Wild fruits, roots, and fungi are used extensively for food.[31]

CRAFTS

Dwelling-houses are generally conical in shape and built of grass and mud on wooden supports. The floors, on which members of the family sleep, are of clay. Schweinfurth[32] notes a circular pad of straw (called *gony)* on the peak of the roof which serves as a seat from which the countryside may be surveyed. Among the Bongo a grinding-stone may be sunk into the ground at floor level and grain ground on to the floor, whereas the other tribes grind corn into some receptacle.[33]

The men do all the house building. The Bongo are reported to be skilful wood carvers—especially of four-legged stools or head rests—and Schweinfurth notes a number of wooden articles, including hammers, flails for threshing com, pestles, troughs, etc. They make baskets, strainers, fishing-baskets, pots (made by women, using the coil technique), and clay pipes which sometimes have a human head design.

The Bongo are fond of music and make flutes, drums, large wooden trumpets, horns, etc. These are all used at festivals and accompany the dancing and beer-drinking. The smelting industry, according to Evans-Pritchard, has been destroyed by the commercial production of iron. The early travellers report that with a rude bellows and a hammer Bongo produced iron goods, tools, and ornaments of good workmanship. Schweinfurth reports that smelting was carried out after the harvest and the rains,[34] and that the apparatus was a clay erection, about 5 ft. high, containing three distinct compartments; the middle one was filled with alternate layers of fuel and ore, the lower division being used for fuel only.

A hole at the bottom, which could be stopped with clay, allowed the molten metal to be raked out. Iron spear-heads or spades were produced and traded with neighbouring peoples.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The fate of the formerly great Bongo group of tribes would suggest that the decisive feature in Bongo political organization was, and still is, their isolation and the lack of co-ordination between them. Evans-Pritchard[35] notes that in spite of government interference and the almost continuous line of homesteads which border the road in the Tonj area, there is very little intercourse between neighbouring homesteads which belong to different sections. Each tribe lives an isolated life, there is little intermarriage and much suspicion and hostility. Injury done to a man of one tribe *by* a man of another formerly led to inter-tribal feuds and there was frequent fighting as, for example, between the Gubi and the neighbouring Dawai. The Karakita, being far removed from the other Bongo, carried on feuds with their Dinka neighbours.[36] Evans-Pritchard lists 35 tribes which he knew of at the time of his visit, and suggests that these were less than half the existing number.[37]

Clans and Territorial Groups

Each tribe has a number of exogamous, totemic clans, and a man may not marry into the clans of his father or mother. Some clans seem to have close ielationships with certain other clans and intermarriage between them is forbidden, but the possession of identical totems is not a bar to marriage. The eating of the totem animal is forbidden to clan members and it is believed that disease or blindness will follow the breach of this taboo. The clans were formerly territorial groups each occupying its own part of the tribal land. According to Schweinfurth,[38] the population formerly lived in small stockaded villages, each being occupied by the extended family group including wives, children, affines, and kinsmen of all degrees and generations. A tree marked the centre of the village and a short distance

away would be other villages of the same clan and tribe. These stockaded villages—if they ever existed—had disappeared by the time of Schweinfurth's visit and later travellers saw only small scattered homesteads, each occupied by a separate family.

Chiefs (Nyeri)

The Bongo chiefs do not seem to have possessed much authority, although they were consulted and regarded as leaders in important legal and social matters. There may be several *nyeri* in a tribe, and Schweinfurth states that every village had its chief—a prosperous man who often possessed magical skills,[39] including the art of rain-making.[40] Chieftainship tended to reside in one family. It does not appear that the *nyeri* received any tribute or gifts.

Legal Procedure [41]

Homicide, if openly and violently committed, is generally avenged by death, but sometimes compensation is accepted. For death caused by indirect means (e.g., magic) compensation amounting to 25 spears is required unless the murderer dies by the oracle magic test—in which case the matter drops. Relatives are held responsible for the actions of their kinsmen and may be killed in vengeance or at least have to assist in paying the spears. In cases of adultery the husband beats his wife and either spears the culprit or exacts 20 spears in compensation. Twenty spears are payable to the father of the woman in cases of fornication. If it is agreed that homicide was accidental, no penalty is imposed. In cases involving members of two different tribes the action taken depends largely on general intertribal relations and may result in feud and fighting or in payment of compensation.

MARRIAGE

The Bongo maintain that formerly they used to marry with 20 to 40 spears, although Schweinfurth and Petherick state that plates of iron were also used as bridewealth. When two families agree to a marriage between their members, five or six spears are given by the man to his future father-in-law and he may visit his bride. No sexual relations are allowed and if they occur the engagement will be broken off. The next payment is made at the time of marriage, for the Bongo do not give the bridewealth in small instalments as the Nilotes do. A man is expected to work hard for his parents-in-law, and to hoe and hunt for them. A man does not divorce his wife if she is barren, but marries a second wife; nor is adultery grounds for divorce, but a husband may repudiate his wife if she is lazy.

The Bongo practise mother-in-law avoidance to the extent of not eating or sleeping in her homestead and being respectful and distant in manner. When children have been born the prohibition against eating her food is relaxed and gifts are exchanged when the first visit is made to each other's homesteads. Mother-in-law avoidance is common to the Bongo, the Jur, and the Mittu.[42] Among the Bongo and the 'Beli of the Jur group of tribes, a special relationship exists between a man and his maternal uncle. A man may steal articles from his maternal uncle and all the spears paid at a mortuary feast to the master of the feast must be given to his sister's sons. A sister's son must give his maternal uncle presents of meat from the hunt, all leopard and buffalo skins, and the tusks of an elephant.

BURIAL

The corpse is buried with knees drawn up to the chin and is placed in a niche hollowed out at one side of a vertical shaft grave. Wooden stakes covered with leaves are placed against the niche entrance and then plastered with clay so that the body reposes in a small chamber. Formerly a cylindrical heap of stones was erected over the grave with a circle of stakes to support it.

All early authorities maintain that the Bongo erect carved posts and wooden figures of men round their graves and various explanations have been given of these. Evans-Pritchard's[43] researches confirmed that they are a kind of tally for recording the number of animals killed by the dead man.

Only the larger and more dangerous animals are represented—elephant, leopard, rhinoceros, etc. Each post is named according to the animal it represents, for example, *dokobi (do-kobi,* the head of the buffalo). Carved images of persons are erected on the graves of old or important people, or their sons, to honour them; there is no associated ritual. All graves have the carved tally-posts, however, and if the dead person has not been a successful hunter a relative erects a post with an account of the animals which he, and not the deceased, has killed.

About a year after death a mortuary feast is held, at which beer is drunk and the carved posts (and figures, if any) are erected. Arrows are shot into the posts by friends and relatives. Hoes, spears, knives, etc., are then given to the master of the feast.

MAGIC

Rain-making

When rain is required people go to the rain-maker by night, taking presents of food and tobacco. The rain-maker is expected to produce the rain the next morning. If the drought persists, more presents will be given; the rain-maker is never harmed, for it is believed that in such a case rain would never fall again. A water pot and rain-stones form the essential apparatus of a rain-maker, although certain shrubs, and magic whistles made from special wood, may be included in the paraphernalia.[44] The rain-stones which Evans-Pritchard saw were primitive stone implements; they are called *landa loma* (the stones of *Loma)* and are similar to those used for rain-making among the Jur of Rumbek and the Mittu. The rain-maker is *be loma* (possessor of *Loma)* or *be loma mini* (possessor of the rain spirit). To make rain various roots are placed in the pot with the rain-stones, the leaves of a particular creeper are dipped in and the water is thrown to the east.[45] The rain-maker produces rain at an individual's request for hunting and agricultural purposes by taking a piece of bast from a special shrub, chewing it and making a cord to bind round the waist of the hunter. Rain is then supposed to follow.

According to Richards[46] the rain-stones are used for oath-taking and, when a legal case cannot be settled by the establishment of guilt, the parties to the dispute will swear their innocence on the holy stones. No native, according to Richards, dare swear an untruth on them for fear of the consequences. The rain-maker supervises the oath-taking, and is presented with gifts. The stones therefore constitute a sort of final appeal in legal matters. Little is known about the Bongo concept of *Loma,* but it is probably an important element in Bongo cosmology.[47]

A rain-maker is not necessarily a chief but is always a man of note and intertribal prestige. He is always successful in war on account of his medicines and his possession of *Loma.* The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. Other methods of obtaining rain include the use of pole shrines, which were probably introduced from the Bor Belanda and consist of a rain-post *(riyak)* with medicines or food stuck on its branches. This may be erected under a large tree and the surrounding ground is swept and used for dancing. The officiator is called *biriak*.[48]*Durra* is boiled under the tree, water is poured on the boiled *durra* and then thrown in the air as the *biriak* invokes rain.[49] A third method is to take *durra* to a nearby river and call on *Loma* for rain.

Oracle Magic

The Jur tribes of Rumbek and the Bongo appear to have similar practices in relation to oracles. A powder made from seeds of the *gwiya* tree is used in oracular consultations by the Bongo, the'Beli, Gberi, Sopi, Lori, Mittu tribes of the Jur, and by the Baka and probably others.[50] The powder is ceremonially boiled with a little water and an old man puts questions to it. A number of names are spoken and the overflowing liquid from the boiling pot at the mention of a name gives the answer. Murderers, adulterers, and thieves were formerly detected by this means; if the person named denied his guilt he might be given some of the powder to swallow. If he writhed with pain he would be taken as guilty and would probably die. If he vomited the medicine, innocence was established.

Apart from *gwiya* there was also *mapiang*[51]—a medicine said to be of Dinka origin which has spread among the Azande and neighbouring

peoples. It is carried as a protection against sorcery and "bad" magic. *Mapiang* may cause illness and someone who is sick will consult an oracle to find out whose *mapiang* is making him ill. He will then go to the owner of the medicine and get him to withdraw its evil influence by the ceremonial killing of a hen which the sick man then eats. *Mapiang* is also a hunting medicine.

The traditional hunting medicine *(lingi)* consists of two or three small carved posts erected near the entrance to the hut of a well-known hunter who will offer sacrifices there, though whether to the ancestral spirits or in what particular context is not known.

The Be Mala

The *be mala* (the possessor of the gourd) is the witch-doctor who is called in to cure sickness, which he does by shaking his rattle and dramatically extracting some small object from the sick person's body. Both women and men could practise as *be mala.* Nowadays, Zande witch-doctors (*binza*) have replaced the *be mala* as healers.

RELIGION

There is very little reliable information on Bongo religion.

Loma, the term used for the Supreme Being, can also, according to Schweinfurth, denote good or ill luck.[52] Illness is attributed to *Loma.* The term *Hege* is used by some Bongo tribes for the supreme king.[53] Evans-Pritchard[54] was told that spirits were called *loma guba* and sometimes *morijo*. Illness is generally attributed to *loma guba* or, in very serious cases, to black magic (*togbo).* If *togbo* is suspected the neighbours are asked to spit into a gourd and if the sorceror does so—as he will if he is among them —the sick man will recover.

Other Tribes of the Bongo-Baka Group

Many of the features noted for the Bongo appear to apply, so far as our information extends, to the'Beli, Mittu, Nyamusa, etc. The most eastern tribes of the Bongo-Baka Group have been considerably influenced by the Dinka and speak the Dinka language in addition to their own. The western tribes, on the other hand, speak Zande as a second language since a large number of them have at some time been subject to Zande chiefs.[55]

According to Seligman "the general political and social organization of these tribes seems to be much the same. Each tribe is divided into a number of sections, having clans which appear to be totemic. The clans are exogamous, but the rules of exogamy often seem to include the more closely related clans of the same section."[56] Among the'Beli, the largest of the groups, mother-in-law avoidance is observed in the same way as among the Bongo.

In all these tribal groups the rain-makers seem to have been the most important people in the past, exercising political as well as ritual authority. Among the Lori, rain-makers are the descendants of Gurutobo who, during a rainstorm, fell from the sky with his drum, his rain-stones, his rain medicine, and the special bell called *kobo* which is used in rain-making.[57]

The'Beli rain-making shrine (*heri)* consists of a forked pole with a notch from which hangs a fragment of rope. At the base, under some potsherds, are two spearheads and the rain-stones which, like those of the Bongo, are old stone tools. The rain-maker is called *ngeri toro,* the "chief of the rain." Rain is made by placing rain-stones on some special leaves and pouring water over them. Sometimes a hen is sacrificed at the shrine and, if the rain is difficult to obtain, the whole ceremony is conducted on the grave of the rain-maker's mother and the ancestral spirits are called upon to help. At the beginning of the rainy season the stones are left uncovered to encourage the rain to fall. When the millet is ripe and the rain is no longer needed the rain-stones are covered up. A rain-maker will sometimes choose a child as his successor, and indicates his choice by biting the last joint of the child's little finger. A rain-maker is usually an old man since it is believed that rain-making spoils a man's hunting ability. If rain cannot be obtained an oracle is consulted to find out who is withholding the rain. The guilty person is then bound and left in the sun without food or water until he withdraws his opposition, i.e., until rain falls.

The rain-maker is presented with gifts, and services were formerly rendered to him. A rain-maker must never see blood and he never attends

the funeral of an ordinary person. He observes various taboos; he must not carry sharp weapons or have frequent relations with women and he must observe certain food prohibitions.

The rain-maker is said to die slowly. He is not buried immediately and all the rain-makers of the country collect to dig his grave, which is placed near that of his mother. After burial the rain-makers gather to wash themselves and to blow on the sacred horns, beat a special drum, dance, and feast. The people should not mourn when a rain-maker dies.

Oaths may be taken on the rain-stones and this seems to be the case in all the Bongo-Baka tribal groups.[58] According to Schweinfurth[59] the graves of the Mittu tribes, like those of the Bongo, consist of a heap of stones supported by stakes and carved wooden posts.

Notes

1 1940, pp. 8-11.

2 1932, p. 436.

3 23, 1937.

4 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (c).

5 Op. cit., p. 8.

6 Ibid., and Evans-Pritchard, 6, 1929, p. 4.

7 See Tucker, op. cit., p. 9.

8 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (a).

9 See Evans-Pritchard, 23, 1937, map opposite p. 156.

10 Tucker, loc. cit.

11 Evans-Pritchard, loc. cit.

12 Loc. cit.

13 See Tucker, op. cit., p. 10, for Amadi District Census for 1937.

14 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (a) (1948 Census).

15 Santandrea, 1950, p. 18.

16 Ibid.

17 Tucker, op. cit., p. 11.

18 Ibid., p. 19.

19 *Equatoria Handbook,* 1951, Appendix 2 (d). 1948 taxpayers' Census for Western District of Bahr el Ghazal Province. *Said Bandas Court:* Kreish-Gbaya estimated as 610 taxpayers and 659 taxpayers. *Parapara Court:* Kreish-Gbaya estimated at 375 taxpayers. *Total:* 1,644 taxpayers.

20 *Equatoria Handbook,* Appendix 2 (d). 1948 taxpayers' Census for Western District of Bahr el Ghazal Province.

21 Evans-Pritchard, 6, 1929, pp. 1-61.

22 Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. I.

23 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 3.

24 Richards, 1935, p. 143; see also Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.

25 See Schweinfurth, 1873, vol. I, p. 136.

26 Ibid., pp. 138-9, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 10.

27 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

28 Heuglin, 1869.

29 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

30 Fowls are eaten by women only, see Petherick, 1861, pp. 399-400.

31 Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 117.

32 Ibid., p. 123.

33 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 56.

34 Schweinfurth, op. cit., pp. 277-8.

35 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 16.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., p. 17.

38 Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 275.

39 Ibid., p. 113.

40 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 20-1.

41 Ibid., pp. 48-9.

42 Ibid., p. 32.

43 Ibid., p. 37.

44 Ibid., pp. 21-4.

45 Ibid., p. 24.

46 Richards, 1935, p. 146.

47 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 26.

48 Ibid.

49 Cf. the Zande custom of taking vegetables, etc., to the head of a stream.

50 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 40.

51 Ibid., pp. 42-3.

52 Schweinfurth, op. cit., pp. 304-5.

53 Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 46.

54 Ibid.

55 Seligman, 1932, p. 474.

56 Ibid., p. 475.

57 Ibid., p. 476.

58 Ibid., p. 480.

59 Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 198.

Bibliography

Particularly important items are starred *.

Abbreviations:

G.M.	*Geographical Magazine.*
I.R.C.B.	*Institut Royal Colonial Beige.*
S.G.M.	*Scottish Geographical Magazine.*
S.N.R.	*Sudan Notes and Records.*

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Index

Ababua, 12, 27, 30, 36, 39
Abagua, 26
Abandiya, 11, 26, 27, 29, 34, 38
(A)bangbinda, 28
Abangombe, 27, 28, 32
Abarambo, 11, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 43, 44, 45, 73, 87, 90, 93
Abaza, 27
Abile, 20, 27, 30, 38, 40; *see also* Avuru Kipa
Abodi, 38
Abolopwe, 27
Abortion, 71
Abubage, 27
Abuguru (Babuker), 22, 28, 30, 32
Abwalemi, 27
Acoli, 104, 115, 119
Adio (Makaraka), 20, 27, 32, 34
Adoption, 72
Adultery: Azande, 13, 56-7, 58, 68, 70, 71; Bongo, 133; Moru, 110, 111, 112
Affines: Azande, 67, 68, 69, 76, 78; Bongo, 111
Age-grades: Keliko, 114; Moru, 110
Ägi, 105, 111
Agriculture: Azande, 42-4; Bongo, 131; Lendu, 126; Lugbara, 120-1; Madi, 116; Moru, 109
Aholi, 27
Aja, 129
Akare, 20, 28, 31
Akowe, 28
Amadi, 12, 14, 20, 22, 30, 31, 40
Amadi District peoples, 128-9
Ambili, 38
Ambomu, 11, 21-2, 29, 38, 51, 72
Ambwege, 38
Amiangba, 30, 3189 (n)
Amokuma, 38
Amukuma, 38
Amuvumba, 28
Ancestor cult: Azande, 94; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 124; Madi, 118 Ändri, 105, 111
Angada, 20, 28, 30
Angbaga, 28
Angombe, 28, 32

Anunga, 33, 38, 73
Apambia, 15, 20, 27, 28, 32
Arabs, 12, 16, 21 (n), 22-3, 60, 128, 130
Arrows, poisoned, 121, 131
Asibali, 28
Auro, 51, 65, 72
Avare, 107
Avoidance, ritual, 133, 136
Avukaya, 32, 104, 106, 114-15
Avungara, 11, 16, 18, 21-39 passim, 42, 48-50, 63, 72, 73, 80-1, 85, 93, 105
Avuru Kipa, 38, 39
Azande, 11-96

Bai, 98, 101
Baka, 22, 32-3, 34, 128, 135
Bakango, 39
Bakongo, 39
'Bäli'bä, 104, 106
Bamboi, 39
Banda, 29, 34, 36, 38, 98(n), 129
Bangba, 20, 22, 31, 33, 34
Bangbinda, 20, 22, 28
Banginda, 29
Bangminda, 29
Bantu-speaking peoples, 11, 12, 20, 22, 28, 36, 37
Bari, 104, 106, 115, 119(n), 124, 125
Baskets, 19, 121, 126, 132
Bazingbi (King), 22, 30, 48, 50
Beehives, 121
Bees, 113
Belanda, 33, 101, 128
'Beli, 97, 129, 130, 133, 135, 136
Binga, 129
Biri, 33
Birth: Azande, 71-2; Lugbara, 122; Madi, 116
Birthrate, decline in, 13
Biti, 129
Blood-brotherhood, 32, 63, 74-6, 98, 101
Blood-feud, 121, 122
Body-painting, 113, 120
Boko, 130
Bongo, 20, 22, 28, 33, 36, 103, 128, 130-5
Bongo-Baka group, 128-36
Bor, 33, 34
Bori, 107
Bridewealth: Azande, 60-1, 69; Bongo, 133; Bviri, 98; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 122-3; Madi, 115; Moru, 110; Mundu, 35
Burial: Azande, 28, 76-8; Bongo, 133-4; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 123; Madi, 116; Moru, 112

Bviri, 33-4, 98, 101

Cannibalism, 12, 17, 30, 44, 87
Cats, 79, 84, 86
Cattle, 42, 109, 114, 115, 116, 120, 125-6; ritual use of, 120, 123
Chickens, 14, 44, 88, 109
Chiefs: Azande, 16, 48-50, 61; Bongo, 133; Lendu, 126; Logo, 114; Madi, 117; Mangbetu, 61
Children, 17, 47, 67, 68, 121
Christianity, 24, 95
Cicatrization, 18, 120
Circumcision, 67, 73-4, 93, 126, 131
Clans: Azande, 65-6; Bongo-Baka group, 136; Bongo, 132; Bviri, 98; Lendu, 126; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 122; Madi, 116-17; Mora, 110; Mundu, 35
Clientship, 114, 115
Compensation, 56, 110, 114, 117, 122, 133
Cotton, 24, 30, 37, 97, 116
Crafts: Azande, 19; Bongo, 131-2; Lendu, 126; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 121
Crops: Azande, 24(n), 43; Bongo, 131; Lendu, 126; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 120; Madi, 116; Mamvu, 43; Mangbetu, 43; rotation of, 43, 120

Dances, 74, 85, 109
Death, 76-7, 100, 101, 127
Dendi, 34
Deputies, 50-1, 67
Dinka, 11, 42, 129, 130, 132, 135, 136
Divination: Azande, 80-91; Bviri, 98;
Lendu, 127; Lugbara, 124; Moru, 112
Divorce: Azande, 70-1; Bongo, 133; Lugbara, 123; Madi, 116; Moru, 111
Dogs, 14, 113
Donga, 39
Dongo, 31
Doriga, 30
Dreams, 83-4
Dress: Azande, 18;Bongo, 130; Lendu, 125; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 120; Madi, 115
Drink, 18, 113
Drums, 19, 132
Duga, 30, 34

Ear-piercing, 18, 113, 120, 125
Egyptians, 22-3
Elders, 114, 117, 122
Europeans, 16-17, 22-3
Evil eye, 102, 112
Exogamous groups, 66-7, 98, 114, 117, 132, 136

Feroge, 99
Fishing: Azande, 45; Bongo, 131; Kediru, 109; Madi, 116
Folklore, 96
Food: Azande, 17, 18, 44-5; Bongo, 131; Lendu, 126; Lugbara, 120-1; Moru, 109

Gbaria, 25
Gbaya, *see* Kreish
Gberi, 129, 135
Gbogo (Gboko), 99
Gbudwe (King), 22, 23, 28, 33, 50, 53, 58, 63, 72, 80, 91
God: Azande, 86; Bongo, 135; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 123; Madi, 118; Moru, 111; Ndogo, 100
Golo, 22, 98, 100, 101
Granaries, 19, 46, 121
Graves: Azande, 77, 78; Bongo, 134; Avukaya, 115; Moru, 111, 112-13; monuments: Azande, 77; Bongo, 134; Bviri, 98; Mittu, 136; Moru-Madi, 112-13, 116, 118(n)
Groves, sacred, 118

Hairdressing, 18, 120
History: Azande, 20-25; Bongo, 131; Makere, 37; Moru-Madi, 104-5
Hofra, 130
Homicide, 55, 74, 114, 117, 122, 133
Honey, 121
Huma, 28, 30, 32, 34
Hunting: Azande, 44-5; Bongo, 131; Lendu, 126; Logo, 113; Madi, 116; Moru, 109
Huts: Azande, 19, 46, 53; Bongo, 131—2; Lendu, 126; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 121; Madi, 117; Moru, 109; Mundu, 35

Incest, 66-7
Indri, 99
Inheritance, 52
Ironwork: Azande, 19; Bongo, 132; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 121; Madi, 116; Morokodo, 109
Islam, 24
Ivory, 19, 22, 23, 63

Joking relationship, 17, 76
Jur, 97, 101, 103, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135

Kakwa, 22, 104, 107, 115, 124, 125
Kaligi, 99
Kara, 129
Karakita, 132
Kediru, 104, 105, 109
Keliko (Kaliko), 99(n), 106, 108, 109, 114-15
Kings, 48-50
Kinship terminology, 67-8
Kreish, 129-30
Kuku, 115
Kutowaka, 130

Labour, division of, by sex: Azande, 43, 46-7; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 121; Madi, 116; Moru, 109
Lakama'di, 104
Land rights: Azande, 42, 59; Madi, 116, 117; Moru, 109
Language: 27-39 passim; Azande, 14–15; Bogo-Baka group, 129, 130, 136; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 107-8; Moru-Miza, 105; Ndogo-Sere group, 98, 99, 100

Leechcraft: Azande, 86; Moru, 112; Ndogo, 102
Legal Procedure: Azande, 55-9; Bongo, 133; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 122; Moru, 110
Lendu, 104, 105, 108, 125-7
Leopard men, 120
Levirate, 69
Lip-plugs: Bongo, 130; Lendu, 125; Keliko and Avukaya, 114; Logo, 113; Lugbara, 120; Mundu, 35
Livestock, 14, 113, 126, 131
Logo, 11, 12, 20, 32, 34, 40, 104, 105, 107, 113-14
Lokoya, 125
Lori, 129, 136
Lotuko, 125
Lugbara (Lugware), 104, 107-8, 119(n), 120-5
Luluba, 104, 108, 115, 125
Luo, 130

Mabenge (Prince), 21, 28, 30
Mabisanga, 34, 36, 40
Mabiti, 34, 36
Madi (Ma'di), 20, 36, 42, 108, 115-20, 125
Ma'du, 129
Magic: Azande, 80-93; Bongo-Baka group, 134-5, 136; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Madi, 118-20; Lugbara, 124-5; Moru, 112; Ndogo-Sere group, 100-3
Makaraka, 11, 12, 21, 22, 27, 65(n)
Makau movement, 103
Makere, 11, 20, 27, 28, 36, 37, 40
Makuba, 105
Mamvu, 14, 20, 34, 36, 37, 40, 43
Mando, 34, 36
Mangaya, 99
Mangbele, 30, 31, 36, 40
Mangbetu, 11, 12, 13, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 36-7, 43, 44, 50, 60, 61, 72, 87, 90, 93
Mangbutu, 36
Marriage: Azande, 68-71; Bongo, 133; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 122-3; Madi, 115; Moru, 110-11
Mba, 31
Mberidi, *see* Bor
Mbegumba, *see* Bviri
Medicines, 85, 86, 135
Meje, 14, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40; *see also* Niapu and Popoi
Milk, 120
Missions, 24
Mittu, 33, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136
Miza, 104, 105
Mondari, 106
Mondunga, 31
Moro, 105(n), 128
Morokodo, 106, 112, 128
Moru, 22, 33, 35, 36, 109-13
Moru-Madi group, 32, 104-27, 128
Mother's brother, 68, 133

Mourning, 77-8, 120, 123
Mundu, 20, 32, 34-5, 107, 128
Munza (King), 21, 34, 37, 42, 60
Musical instruments, 19, 132

Naka, 130
Naming, 72, 122
Ndo (Ndu), 104, 107
Ndogo, 23, 101
Ndogo-Sere group, 33, 34, 97-103
Ngara, 29
Ngbandi, 27
Ngbaya, 29
Ngbowu, 29
Ngulguli, 129
Niam-Niam, 11, 12, 27
Niapu, 30, 31, 35, 36, 40; *see also* Amadi, Meje, Popoi
Nilotes, 18, 19, 20
Nyamusa, 112, 129, 135
Nyangbara, 35, 111, 114
Nyangulgule, 99
Nzakara, 12, 38, 39

Oaths, 136
Ojigä, 32, 106
Ojila, 106
Oke'bu, 107
Omens, 84
Oracles: Azande, 32, 55, 56-9, 61, 69, 76, 80, 81, 87-90, 114; Bongo, 135; Lugbara, 124; Madi, 119; Ndogo-Sere group, 101, 102-3
Ordeals, 102-3, 122
Ornaments, 18, 113, 120, 125, 130

Palanga (chief's bodyguard), 53, 54, 56, 59, 60, 62-3, 64
Patri, 39
Physical environment, 41, 107, 113, 120
Physical measurements: Azande, 15-16; Mangbetu, 16; Moru-Madi group, 108-9; Mundu, 35
Pojulu, 34, 106, 114, 115, 125
Polygyny, 13, 69, 123
Popoi, 36, 40; *see also* Meje, Niapu
Population figures: Azande, 12-13; Bongo Baka group, 128, 129, 130; Moru-Madi group, 105-8; Ndogo-Sere group, 97, 98, 99, 100
Pottery, 19, 97, 113, 121, 126, 132
"Proto-Momvu," 20, 21
Punishments, 55, 56, 119, 133
Pygmies, 20

Rainfall, 42
Rain-making: Azande, 59; Baka, 33; 'Beli, 136; Bongo, 133, 134—5; Lugbara, 124; Madi, 118-19; Moru, 111-12

Rain-stopping, 33, 95
Religion: Azande, 94-6; Bongo, 135; Lendu, 127; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 123-5; Madi, 118; Moru, 111; Ndogo-Sere group, 100-1
Revenue, 24
Rumbek District peoples, 129
Runga, 129

"Sacred water cult," 124-5
Salt, 45, 121
Sara, 36
Sere (Basiri), 20, 23, 30, 35, 97-8, 101
Settlement pattern: Azande, 45-6; Bongo, 132-3; Lugbara, 121-2; Madi, 117; Moru, 110
Shayo, 99
Shilluk, 12, 33, 98
Shrines: Azande, 46, 94; Bongo, 134; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 124
Sinyar, 129
Slave trade, 22-3, 36, 37, 51-2, 131
Sleeping sickness, 13, 23-4
Smiths: Azande, 61; Bongo, 132; Lendu, 126; Madi, 116; Morokodo, 109; Ndo, 121; Oke'bu, 107; subordinate status of, 125
Societies, 91-3, 103
Soil, 41, 42; erosion, 116
Sopi, 129, 130, 135
Sorcery: Azande, 55, 79, 82(n), 91; Bongo, 135; Moru, 112; Ndogo, 102
Sororate, 69
Soul, 82, 94, 110
Spirits: ancestral, 71, 94, 101, 110, 114, 117, 118, 123-4, 127, 135, 136; evil, 83, 101
Status, 48-52, 72-3, 74, 93; of women, 46-7, 52
Succession: Azande, 49, 52; Lendu, 126; Logo, 114; Lugbara, 122
Sudanic invaders, 20, 21, 28, 30, 33, 37

Taboos, 71, 87, 93, 114, 121, 126, 132, 136
Tagbu (Tagbo), 98-9
Teeth, mutilation of, 19, 110, 113, 131
Tobacco, 17, 121, 131
Togbo, 29, 98(n)
Togoyo, 29, 99
Tokpwo, 29
Tombo (Prince), 21, 27
Totems: Abaza, 27; Azande, 65-6, 71, 94; Bongo, 132; Bongo-Baka group, 136; Logo, 114; Moru, 110
Trade, traders, 22, 60, 62, 116-17, 126
Traditions, tribal: Azande, 21, 53; Moru Madi group, 104-5
Tribal marks, 113, 114, 120
Tribute, 59-60
Twins: Azande, 72; Lugbara, 122; Madi, 118; Mundu, 35

Warfare, 62-4
Weapons, 121
Weaving, 97

Widows, 69, 77, 111, 123
Wira, 129
Witchcraft: Azande, 56, 71, 76-7, 80-93; Baka, 33; Bongo, 135; Lendu, 127; Lugbara, 122, 123, 124; Madi, 118, 119; Ndogo-Sere group, 100-3
Wood, objects made of, 113, 126, 132
Woro, 130

Yapiti (King), 21-2, 30
Yulu, 129

Zande scheme, 24-5